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PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

TWENTIETH SESSION BHUBANESHWAR

October 1959

Vol. II Part I
Papers of the Sections

Edited by

Dr. V. RAGHAVAN, M.A., Ph.D.

President, Twentyfirst Session, A.I.O.C.

Published by

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, POONA-4

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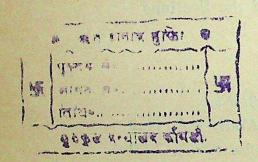
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1961



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PREFACE

I have great pleasure in placing in the hands of the Members of the All-India Oriental Conference this volume carrying the papers submitted to the Twentieth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Bhubaneshwar in October 1959. Owing to the limited funds at the disposal of the Conference and the fact that some members had published their papers in research journals, the present volume contains only a selection of the papers done mostly on the recommendations of the respective Section-Presidents. On behalf of the Conference I acknowledge with thanks the grant which the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs gave for the publication of the Proceedings of the Conference which is now the responsibilty of the Central Office of the Conference.

As the entire material took time to be collected from the Section Presidents and the Local Secretaries of the Bhubaneswar Session and arranged in consultation with the authors of papers, and as arrangements had to be made for the finances required for publication, the printing of this Volume could not be undertaken earlier. As according to our practice the Proceedings of a Session are to be made available at the next Session, the printing of this volume had to be taken up on the eve of the present Session, concurrently with the heavy work involved in the organisation of the Session and the printing of the Summaries of the Papers submitted to this Session. However, I am glad I have been able to bring out at least the main part of the Proceedings, comprising papers submitted by Members to the different Sections in time for this Conference:

क्रेश: फलेन हि पुनर्नवतां विधत्ते।

As the printing of the Papers of the Iranian, Islamic Culture and Arabic and Persian Sections had to be done at different Presses at Bombay and Madras they could not be got in time to be bound with this Volume. The papers of these three sections will appear as Part 2 of Volume II and will be sent to Members soon after the present Session.

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There has unfortunately occurred some confusion about some part of the material relating to the Bhubaneshwar Session and therefore the printing of the business part of Conference, its organisation, list of members and minutes of meetings, could not be taken up for printing along with the learned papers. The General and Sectional Presidential Address have, however, been almost printed, but it will be possible to send to Members Volume I comprising Transactions and the Presidential Addresses only a little later.

The printing of the above has involved considerable strain especially as the work coincided with that of the present Session. I therefore express my gratitude to the Bharathi Vijayam Press, Madras-5, for undertaking the responsibility of printing and to Sri K. V. Sarma of my Department in the University of Madras for his help in getting through the work expeditiously.

Madras }

V. RAGHAVAN

President, 21st A.I.O.C.

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RTA AND SATYA IN THE RGVEDA

By

Prof. H. D. Velankar, Bombay

If the relevant passages from the Rgveda are carefully examined we will find that the authors of the hymns did actually mean to differentiate between the concepts conveyed by the two words Rta and Satya. Rta on the whole refers to what relates to existing facts, existing from beginningless times, while satya refers to something which is going to become, as a general rule. facts accord with what is desired in future, or intended or said, the desire, intention or speech is said to have become satya. Thus āsisah (7. 17. 5), mantrāh (1. 152, 2; cf. also satyamantrāh 7.76. 4), kāmah (10.116.8), uktha (6.67.10), manasah ākūti (10.128,4), devahūti (6.65.5), dyumnahūti (1.129.7), upastuti (7.83.7) or purohiti (7.83.4) are said to have become satya when they become realised or effective and unfailing in gaining their respective objects. The sun is requested to make a satya declaration, i. e., a declaration which will be effective by being accepted by the gods concerned, about the innocence of his worshippers at 7, 60, 1. A reference to 7, 93, 7 will show that this declaration is expected to be, not according to the existing facts about the innocence of the worshipper, but about what is expected to be brought about by the grace of the gods, namely, his innocence by the removal of his guilt. The satyokti of Surya mentioned at 10.37.2 is similarly an effective recommendation to the gods, and not merely a declaration of existing facts. In a similar sense Indra's mahitva (3. 32. 9), manyu (4. 17. 10), or paumsya (8. 45. 27) is said to be satya; Bhaga is described as satya-rādhas (7, 41, 3); Agni as satya-vāc dūta (7, 2, 3) and satyayaj hotr (4. 3. 1; 6. 16. 46) and also satya-gīrvahas (1. 127. 8); Indra as satya-susma (1. 51. 15), satya-madvan (8. 2.37) and satyarādhas (7. 31. 2); Soma as satya-karman (9. 113. 4) and satya-manman (9. 97. 48); Savitr as satya-dharman (10. 34. 8) and finally Maruts as satya-savasah (1.86. 8). In all these cases satya is an

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adjective and means 'effective, unfailing' in achieving the expected results, and thus has a reference to things which are yet to be brought into existence. Almost the same thing seems to have been meant by the cognate word sat. sat vacas is a speech which may be regarded as sat or 'effective', if facts are made to accord with it, or in other words, it is an assertion or promise or a claim which is expected to be verified by events which are yet to take place. On the other hand, asat speech or vacas is that assertion or promise which is never intended to be fulfilled. satya is contrasted with mogha at 10. 55. 6, where Indra's knowledge of treasures is said to be satya and not mogha, because he can make it effective by conquering them. mogha is ineffective, unfruitful, as seen from 7.104. 14 b and 15d. Sometimes even the gods like Soma (9.92.6), Indra (4. 16. 1), Brahmanaspati (2. 23. 11), Agni (1. 1. 5), Usas and the gods in general (7. 75. 5) as also the worshippers (1. 180. 7) are described as satya, i.e., capable of executing what they say or intend to do.

As against satya, which is mainly an adjective (mostly, as an independent word, but always, in compounds), rta is chiefly a noun, (really a past passive participle of the root r to go), meaning 'what has happened, what has traversed its course' from times immemorial, and rarely an adjective. rtavan is one who follows the rta and all gods are rtapā, rtejā and rtavan. Rta pre-exists the gods and men and is more powerful, more eminent than all. It does not depend upon anybody's will like satya, but both gods and men live in and on account of it. It corresponds to the Upanisadic Brahman, in this respect and the concept about this latter, viz., the Brahman, may have probably arisen as a supplement to the former, i.e., the rta. Rta expresses its beginninglessness and unchanging nature, while Brahman expresses its allpervading character. The expression rtam brhat or rtam mahat at 1.151.4, 5.65.5 and 8.25.4, comes nearer to this dual concept and it is in this capacity that the gods are identified with it as at 1.75.5, 9.56.1, 9.108.8 and 10.66.4. A sacrifice is sometimes called rta as it serves an emblem of it and it is in this aspect of it that the place of a sacrifice is often mentioned as the sadas, sadana, khā, nābhi or yoni of rta. It is the mightiest and the most exhalted thing and

RTA AND SATYA IN THE RGVEDA

as such the righteous path or the pious thought is called rtasya panthā or rtasya dhīti. The word rta is, however, sometimes used as an adjective, usually of a god, but at times even of a man as at 8.60.5 (of Agni), 1.137.2 (of Varuṇa), 9.17.8 (of Indra), 9.62.30 (of Soma) and 1.153.3 (of a pious man). In compounds it always retains its nature as a noun.

This essential difference between rta and satya can also be well evident when the two words are either co-ordinated or associated. Thus Usas is called rtajāta-satyā, 'reliable as she is born in rta,' at 4.51.7, while at 3.54.3, the Rodasī are requested to have their rta satya, i.e., 'effective' (yuvoh rtam satyam astu). The gods are said to be satya owing to their association with the rta at 6.50.2 (ve rtasāpah satyāh) and 5.67.4 (te hi satyāh rtasprsah). At 4.33.6 the Rbhus are said to have spoken satya, for they 'have performed accordingly,' (satyam ūcuh, eva hi cakruh) and at 10.117.6, a Bhiksu declares a satya that the food which is enjoyed without sharing with others becomes only a deadly weapon (satyam bravīmi vadhah it sa tasya); this is not a thing which already exists but it is what is expected to happen. On the other hand rtam bravīmi both at 10.34.12 and 10.79.4 (cf. also 1.185.10) refers to an existing fact and not to a promise. At 9.113.2 Soma is said to have been pressed with help of tapas and sraddha, as also of rtavaka and satya ('a faithful speech and a reliable promise'), where a clear difference is intended between the rta speech and the satya speech. Similarly in the same hymn Soma is called rtadyumna ('having rta as his glory'), because he is rtamvadah and satyakarman ('one whose deeds are reliable') because he is satyam vadan ('one who speaks what he means to execute') (9.113.4). Further, at 7.56.12, the Maruts are said to have established satya with the help of rta, because they are rtasāpah. In short, satya-vāda is purusatantra, while rta-vāda is vastutantra; cf. what S'ankara remarks about dhyana and jñana in his Bhāsya on Brahmasūtra 1.1.4.

In spite of this difference in the meanings of the two words, however, the two concepts became identical in course of time. The beginning of this process is indeed to be found even in the Rgvedic hymns, where sometimes satya becomes a noun and rta an

VEDIC

adjective, and the two are conceived as two parallel entities as at 1.105.12 and 10.190.1. That the two were at times considered as interchangeable is further shown by the compound word satyānrie which occurs once at 7.49.3.

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PRAJAPATI LEGENDS IN THE S'ATAPATHA BRAHMANA

By

Dr. H. R. Karnik, M. A., Ph. D., Bombay

In a very few hymns of the Rgveda Prajapati is mentioned as such. In some hymns he is relegated to the class of abstract deities and often coupled with the God Viśvakarman. Sometimes Prajapati is mentioned as an epithet of Savitr and Soma. It is only in the tenth Mandala that Prajapati occurs as the name of a distinct deity. Then he is invoked as the bestower of abundant offspring, making the cows prolific, a protector of generation and living beings, the creator of heaven and earth, of the Waters and of all that lives, born as the "One Lord of all that is, the one king of all that breathes and moves, the one god above the gods, whose ordinances all beings and the Gods follow, who established heaven and earth, who traverses space in the atmosphere and who embraces, with his arms, the whole world and creatures." These are virtually the characteristics of a Supreme God. Thus towards the end of the Rgvedic period we notice that a divinity who was only abstract in conception at the beginning has not only been given a form incarnate but is also seen growing tremendously in personal importance and status. This grandeur and supremacy which Prajapati has attained towards the end of the Rgvedic period has become the basis of the later Brahmanic conception of Prajāpati. In the Brahmanas Prajāpati is not one of the supreme divinities of the Vedic pantheon but has established himself as the Supreme Divinity in the divine circles of the sacrificial fold. The following few legends connected with the name of Prajāpati occuring in the Satapatha Brahmana will certainly point in this direction. There are a number of legends-perhaps the largest in the Brahmana ever connected with the name of an individual deity-in which the deity Prajapati is mentioned. Only a few are referred to here but they are quite sufficient to prove that Prajapati has come to occupy the enviable place of prominence and supremacy in the Brahmanas.

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In the Brahmanas the institution of sacrifice has grown so much in importance and stature that it was considered not as the means to an end but as an end in itself. Everything that was deemed to be pure and sacred was ultimately measured, and valued in terms of sacrifice. To all things the canons of sacrifice were applied and whatever stood the test of sacrifice was alone considered to be significant and useful. Sacrifice was in the Brahmanas the be all and the end all. In many legends of the Satapatha Brāhmaņa connected with the name of Prajāpati, Prajāpati is identified with this sacrifice itself. At SBR IV-ii-3 is quoted a legend which speaks of Prajapati as the Father of Gods and the Asuras. These Prājāpatyas are described here as fighting for the possession and appropriation of sacrifice which is designated as nothing else but their father Prajāpati. The Gods, singing and toiling, found out the Agnistoma feast and with it they appropriated the entire sacrifice, viz. Father Prajapati, and excluded the Asuras from sharing in it. The legend at SBR XI-v-9 which illustrates the significance and importance of the adabhya cup, also speaks of Father Prajapati as the sacrifice. The Gods and the Asuras, both descendants of Prajapati, were contending for the possession of sacrifice, to wit Father Prajapati. The Gods toiled and sang praises. They saw the adabhya cup and drawing it they seized upon the three savanas. They took possession of the entire sacrifice, viz. their Father Prajapati, and excluded the Asuras from it. Because they destoyed the Asuras or because the Asuras did not destroy them the cup is called adabhya. At SBR XI-vi-3 where the story, connected with the dispute between Yajnavalkya and S'ākalya consequent on Yājñavalkya's driving away the cows after styling himself as the best of the Brahmanas assembled at the sacrificial session of Janaka-which dispute is alluded to later on at SBR X1V-vi-9 with a far deeper philosophical significance,—is narrated, the sacrifice which king Janaka performed and in which gifts were liberally bestowed upon the Brahamanas is identified with Prajapati first and then with the cattle. At SBR I-vii-4 occurs the famous legend referring to the illicit passion of Prajapati for his daughter-Sky or the Dawn. The legend explains the purpose of the cutting of the Prasitra or Brahman's portion, and accounts for giving it to the priest as fore-offering as the

PRAJAPATI LEGENDS IN THE SATAPATHA

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earthly representative of Brhaspati to whom the prasitra is to be offered. The first part of the story, which deals with the sacrilegeous outrage on accepted moral standards by Prajāpati has been discussed by me in another paper. In the latter part of this story this Prajapati is identified with sacrifice itself and refers to the anxiety of the Gods to find out a means by which the part of Prajapati, i.e. of the sacrifice, torn out by the dart of Rudra who was assigned by the Gods the moral duty of punishing their father for outraging the modesty of their sister, should not be rendered useless and how it could be made into a small offering itself. They, thereupon, took it to Bhaga who sits on the south side of the sacrificial ground, thinking that Bhaga would eat it. Bhaga looked at it and at once his eyes were burnt. Bhaga, thereupon became blind. The Gods, on finding that the part. although offered to Bhaga as fore-offering was not appeased, then took it to Pusan, who, on tasting it, lost his tooth. It is for this reason that Pusan is toothless and when an offering is made to Pūṣan it is prepared from ground rice. Still the parbeing un-appeased, the Gods took it to Brhaspati who immediately ran to Savitr and requested him to impel or influence it for him. Savitr, the impeller, influenced it and as such it did not harm Brhaspati though he ate it as the fore-offering. The same part is called Prasitra (adhi-daiva-jnanaya prasita praptosyeti prasitram). This prasitra the priest receives as the representative of Brhaspati on earth in addition to his regular position.

The legend is symbolical in character in as much as it explains the reason why the *prāsitra* is offered to Bṛhaspati and to the priest as his mortal representative. What is striking is the identification of Prajāpati, accused of an immoral action, with sacrifice and the powerful nature of the part darted out of Prajāpati's body by the shaft of Rudra. It speaks of the power that sacrifice possessed and this power was personified in Prajāpati.

At SBR XI-i-8 this identification of Prajapati with sacrifice is given in a different way though the strain and the stress are the same. At this place is narrated a legend which also concerns

itself with the strife and the struggle between the Prājāpatyas, viz. the Gods and the Asuras. The Asuras, not knowing, as it were, unto whom to make the offering, offered it into their mouths through arrogance. As a consequence they came to naught. The Gods, on the other hand, offered it into one another. Prajāpati gave himself up to them and created his counter-part, viz. the sacrifice. Thus the entire sacrifice became the property of the Gods. The legend at the end states that this sacrifice is the self of the sacrificer.

The legend states the significance of the Full-Moon and the New-Moon sacrifices but points out that the sacrifice is the counterpart of Prajāpati and therefore Prajāpati himself and finally identifies this sacrifice with the self of the sacrificer.

Sometimes this identification of Prajapati with sacrifice is given indirectly. At SBR XIII-iv-4 is narrated a symbolical legend stating the reason why the twentyone sacrificial stakes are to be made of wood of particular trees. The central one which is called the Agnistha is made of the Rajjudāla while others of the wood of Pitudaru, Khadira, Bilva and Palasa. The vital airs of Prajapati deserted him. His body began to swell. The phlegm that flowed through the nose became the Rajjudala. The tears and fragrance that burst forth from the eyes became the Pitudaru. What was connected with the spinal cord and what marrow there was that flowed from the ear, from that Bilva was produced. From the bones the Khadira was produced. The Palāsa was produced from his flesh. As these trees are produced from one or the other part of the body of the impoverished Prajapati, the sacrificial stakes are made of the wood of these trees. The legend incidentally states the reason why the Rajjudāla stake is the central one. It is produced from the nose of Prajapati and the nose is the central part of the body. The Pitudaru-stakes are on the two sides of the Rajjudala because the eyes from which the Pitudaru was produced are on the two sides of the nose. The Bilva-stakes stard outside the Pitudaru ones because the ears from which the Bilva was produced stand outside. The Khadira stakes are outside the Bilva ones because the bones from which the Khadira is produced are outside the marrow from which the Bilva was produced. The Palāsa stakes are outside the Khadira-stakes because the flesh from which the Palāsa was produced is outside the bones. We are not so much concerned with the position of the different sacrifical stakes, why one should be in the centre, the others inside or outside. What is more important and more significant in this context is that the different trees from which the sacrificial stakes are made were produced from one or the other part of the body of Prajāpati and this proves that sacrifical things are ultimately connected with Prajāpati who is sacrifice personified.

These few legends from the Satapatha Brāhmana, which speak of the identification of Prajapati with sacrifice, which had gained tremendous importance in the Brahmanic society, are enough to prove that Prajapati had come to occupy a place of supreme importance in the Brahmanic pantheon. There are a number of other legends in the Satapatha Brahmana which are connected with the name of Prajapati which bring out the other characteristics of this great deity of the divine fold in the Brahmanas, Prajapati as the Father Time, as the Divine Year, as the months and the seasons, as the undefined and the mysterious, as the All-in-all, as the Mind and Speech, as the representative of all deities, as the toiling and ever-active creator of the cosmos, as the Lawgiver and the impartial judge, as the Primordial Man (Virātpurusa), as the deliverer of the creatures from the noose of Varuna, as Kūrma, Daksa, Vasistha and Jamadagni, as the emancipator of his Praja from Death and evil, as the very offering of the sacrifice of Gods, as the counsellor of the Gods in their endeavours to gain immortality by performing the Agnicayana in the manner prescribed by him, as the producer of S'rī or Glory after mortifying himself, as the dispeller of darkness produced by the Asuras and the bestower of "kindly light" upon the Gods, as the steadier and the sustainer of the worlds, as the instructor of Purusa Nārāyana, as the producer of Asvamedha, as the vigorous of all the Gods, as the Lord of the cattle, as the Emūsa Boar and finally as Brahman.

VEDIC

These are great qualities in themselves and it is on account of these traits and characteristics that Prajapati has come to occupy an enviable and a predominating position in the Brahmanic mythology.

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12

KSEMA IN RG-VEDA

By

Dr. C. S. Venkateswaran, Annamalainagar

The semantic evolution of the Rg-Vedic words Yoga, Ksema and their combination Yoga-ksema offers an interesting study. These words have, in post Rg-Vedic literature, undergone a shifting from their original meanings. In the Rg-Veda, Yoga, meant yoking or harnessing a draught animal to a chariot, or figuratively, harnessing or applying oneself to some activity. The word occurs 17 times, and in all these cases it presupposes the basic idea of bringing two things together.

Its related word Kṣema is formed like Soma and Stoma and is derived from $\sqrt{k \circ i}$. to dwell or rest, especially in security or peace. Other words derived from this root are Kṣitiḥ, Kṣetram add Kṣayaḥ² meaning dwelling place, ground and abode respectively. In Rg-Veda 'Kṣema' occurs only in the masculine form and appears 16 times in verses addressed to the various deities. It occurs in all the Maṇḍalas except II, III, IV, VI and IX. It occurs four times in each of the Maṇḍalas I, VII and X, thrice in Maṇḍala VIII and once in Maṇḍala V. Of these occurrences, five are associated with Agni, six with Indra, two each with Varuṇa and Indrā-Varuṇa and one with Vāstospati. It occurs twice each in the nominative, accusative and instrumental singular, thrice in the genitive singular, five times in the locative singular and once each in the nominative

1. \sqrt{ksi} to dwell:

RV. 8-84-9. क्षेति क्षेमेभि: साधुभिर्निकर्यं घ्रन्ति इन्ति य: ।

RV. 9-12-3. मदच्युत् क्षेति सादने ।

RV. 1-154-2. यस्योरुषु त्रिषु विक्रमणेष्वधिक्षियन्ति भुवनानि विश्वा।

2. Kṣitiḥ, dwelling place, abode, settlement:

RV. 1-65-5. पुष्टिर्न रण्वा क्षितिर्न पृथ्वी गिरिर्न भुज्म क्षोदो न शंभु। Ksetram, landed property, field, place:

RV. 1-110-5. क्षेत्रमिव विममुस्ते जनेनँ

RV. 9-91-6. शं न: क्षेत्रमुरु ज्योतींषि सोम रीरिहि ।

RV. X-33-6 यस्य क्षेत्रं न रण्वमूचुषे।

Kṣayaḥ, dwelling place, abode:

RV. 7-66-5. सुप्रावीरस्तु स क्षय:

and instrumental plural. Of the total of five occurrences in the locative singular, four are followed by the locative singular form of the related word Yoga. Of these four, two occur in verses addressed to Indra and one each in verses addressed to Varuna and Vāstospati. The compound form Yoga-kṣema occurs only once in the Rg-Veda. Agni² is spoken of as the source of peace and rest. Like a pleasant home he offers security and his worshipper dwells in rest and peace. Indra⁴ is described as the guardian of comfort. He

3. Agni, the source of peace and rest :

RV. X-20-6. स हि क्षेमो हविर्यज्ञः श्रुष्टीदस्य गातुरेति । (क्षेम: कुशलहेतुः, सर्वस्य परिपालनहेतुः—Sāyaṇa).

RV. 1-67-2. क्षेमो न साधु:.....हन्यवाट्। (रक्षक: इव साधयिता—Say.)
Agni offers security like a pleasant home:

RV. 1-66-3. दाधार क्षेममोको न रण्यो....(अग्नि: लब्धस्य धनस्य रक्षणं धारयित —रमणीय: ओक: निवासस्थानं गृहमिव — Say.)

In Agni there is perfect security:

The worshipper of Agni dwells in rest and peace:

RV. VIII-84-9. क्षेति क्षेमेभि: साधुभिर्निक:... (मनुष्य: साध्ययद्भि: पालनै: सह स्वगृहे निवसति....स: तव स्तोता—Say.)

4. Indra, the guardian of comfort:

BV. 1-100-7. तं क्षेमस्य क्षितय: कृण्वत त्राम्। (तं मनुष्याः रक्षणीयस्य सर्वस्य धनस्य त्रातारं रक्षितारं कुर्वन्ति—Say.)

Indra, the lord over rest and energy:

RV. VIII-37-5. क्षेमस्य च प्रयुजश्च त्वमीशिषे शचीपत इन्द्र...(क्षेमस्य प्रयोगस्य च योगक्षेमयोः ईश्वरो भवसि—Say.)

Indra is invoked for support in rest and effort, peace and war:

RV. X. 89-10. इन्द्रः क्षेमे योगे हन्य इन्द्रः । (क्षेमे लन्धस्य धनस्य परिपालने योगेऽलन्धस्य धनस्य लामेऽपि ह्वातन्यः— $S\bar{a}y.$)

RV. V=37-5. पुष्यात् क्षेमे अभियोगे भवति ...(क्षेमे प्राप्तस्य धनस्य रक्षणे योगे- Solution = Solution = Solution = Solution = <math>Solution = Solution = Solution = Solution = Solution = Solution = <math>Solution = Solution = Solution = Solution = Solution = Solution = Solution = <math>Solution = Solution =

Indra conquers the mighty foe for the peace of the world:

RV. X-27-4. जिनामि वेत् क्षेम आ सन्तमार्भुं...। (क्षेमे जगत्पालने निमित्ते सर्वमिभवन्तं शत्रुं जिनामि — Sāy.)

lords over the rest and energy of man. He is therefore invoked for support in rest and labour, peace and war. Varuna⁵ is praised for bestowing his blessings on the worshipper so that it may be well with him both in rest and labour. Likewise, the dual deity Indrā-Varuna⁶ is invoked for the furtherance of the worshipper's weal. The Lord of the house, Vāstoṣpati⁷, is praised for protection both in rest and labour.

Being derived from $\sqrt{k_S i}$, to dwell in security, K_Sema occurs in all these places in the sense of 'dwelling in security or resting in peace'. K_Sema , thus conveys the idea of rest and peace essential for a stable life. Wherever the words K_Sema and Yoga occur together, the worshipper asks for K_Sema first and Yoga next. This would presuppose his anxiety to have a settled life first as a prelude to efficient work denoted by the word Yoga. In the Rg-Veda, K_Sema and Yoga are used usually in the sense of rest and labour and when used in association with the martial god Indra, they often acquire the sense of peace and war. Indra is specifically referred to as the lord of K_Sema and Yoga.

^{5.} Varuna, the bestower of blessing on the worshipper in rest and labour:

RV. VII-86-8. शंन: क्षेमें शसु योगे नो अस्तु...। (अप्राप्तस्य प्रापणं योग: प्राप्तस्य रक्षणं क्षेम:...ऽब्रुः)

The waters sent forth by Varuna make for peace:

RV. X-124-7. क्षेमं कृण्वाना जनयो न सिन्धवः...। (वरुणेन विस्रष्टा आपः क्षेमकारिण्यो भवन्ति—Say.)

^{6.} The dual deity Indra-Varuna is invoked for weal:

RV. VII-82-4. युवां क्षेमस्य प्रसवे मितज्ञवः । (अङ्गिरसः अपि रक्षणस्य उत्पादने निमित्तभूते सति युवामेव आह्वयन्ति—Say.)

RV. VII-82-5. क्षेमेण मित्रो वरुणं दुवस्यति \dots । (क्षेमेण रक्षणहेतुना वरुणं मित्रः परिचरित \dots Say.)

^{7.} Vastospati is invoked for protection in rest and labour:

BV. VII-54-3. पाहि क्षेम उत योगे वरं नो...। (प्राप्तस्य रक्षणे अपि व अप्राप्तस्य प्रापणे वरणीयं अस्मदीयं धने पाहि—Say.)

In his interpretation of the words Kṣema and Yoga, Sāyaṇa invariably interprets Yoga as fresh acquisition of wealth and Kṣema as protection of the wealth acquired.' During Sāyaṇa's time the usage of the compound word Yoga-kṣema in the sense of acquisition and protection might have become popular. Hence he gives the popular meanings while interpreting Yoga and Kṣema, which originally meant work and rest in the Rg-Veda. The rest referred to here is more psychical than physical and hence rest meant mental peace which is a sine qua non for efficient work. Hence the worshipper asks first for kṣema, peace, and next only for yoga, work.

The word Yoga-kṣema occurs only once in the Rg-Veda⁹ and that too, in one of the later hymns of Maṇḍala X, where the worshipper wishes that he might appropriate to himself the Yoga-kṣema of the rivals so that he might lord over them.

In later literature, 10 Yoga-kşema occurs in the sense of welfare in general. Welfare, no doubt, consists in fresh acquisition and this acquisition cannot be real unless it is protected. The root ideas of acquisition and protection accepted by Sāyaṇa are no doubt contained in the Rg-Vedic sense of work and secure abode

- 8. RV. V-37-5; VII-54-3; VII-86-8; X-89-10. प्राप्तस्य धनस्य रक्षणे अलब्धस्य प्राप्तौ च;प्राप्तस्य रक्षणे अपि च अप्राप्तस्य प्रापणे। अप्राप्तस्य प्रापणं योग:। प्राप्तस्य रक्षणं क्षेम:। लब्धस्य धनस्य परिपालने अलब्धस्य धनस्य लामेऽपि (Say.)
- 9. RV. X-186-5. योगक्षेमं व आदायाहं भूयासमुत्तम आ वो मूर्धानमकमीम्। (हे सपत्नाः युष्माकं अप्राप्तस्य धनस्य प्राप्तिः योगः, प्राप्तस्य रक्षणं क्षेमः, तदुभय-मादाय युष्मत्तो गृहीत्वा अहमुत्तमः श्रेष्ठः भूयासम् — Say.)
- 10. Yoga-ksema, welfare:

Ait. Br. 8-6; Tait. Br. 3-3-3-4; Ś. Br. 11-5-6-4.

Sad. V. Br. 2-8-9.

Kaih. Up. 2-2. प्रेयो मन्दो योगक्षेमाद्वृणीते । Tail. Up. 3-10-2.

. Bh.G. 9-22. अनन्याश्चिन्तयन्तो मांतेषां नित्याभियुक्तानां योगक्षेमं वहाम्यहम् ।

associated with Yoga and K_{sema} . Work is at the root of acquisition and a secure abode is needed for protecting that acquisition. Thus Sāyaṇa's interpretation of K_{sema} as the protection of what is acquired can be reconciled with the Rg-Vedic sense of K_{sema} as abiding in peace.

^{11.} Ksema:

RV. 1-100-7, etc.

AV. 13-1-27. इन्द्र: सोमं पिवतु क्षेमो अस्तु । 3-12-1. क्षेमे तिष्ठाति।

TS. 5-2-1-7. क्षेम आहुति जुहोति ।

VS. 18-7. क्षेमश्र मे धृतिश्व मे । SB. 13-1-4-3.

AB. 1-14.

M. Bh. किचत्क्षेमं दिवौकसाम्।

M. Sm. ब्राह्मणं कुशलं पृच्छेत्...वैश्यं क्षेमं समागम्य...।
Rām. गम्यतामथ लाभाय क्षेमाय विजयाय च । 2-40-9.

³

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THE BASIS OF ASTROLOGY IN THE VEDIC LITERATURE

 $B_{\mathcal{I}}$

V. V. Bhide, M. A., Poona 2

In this paper an attempt is made to throw some light on the sources of astrology in Vedic literature. Particularly I have, here, dealt with the problem of constellations, their deities and their influences as regards fruits.

In the remote Vedic period there was the concept about the auspicious day and the auspicious constellation. So far as the RV is concerned there is no direct reference to constellations with their influences as regards fruits. Only the idea about the auspicious day is reflected in some rks.' We find the references to constellations, the deities and their influences in different Samhitās and the Brāhmaṇas. Then in the ancillary literature like Parisistas we can find many references to astrology. Many times Śrauta and Grhya Sūtras refer to constellations with their influences as regards fruits. Varāhamihira is the only wellknown author who has written on astrology. The history of modern astrology can be traced back to the works of Varāhamihira who flourished at the end of the 5th century A.D.² and it can be shown that he based his works on the scattered references of astrology in the Vedic literature and on the works of his predecessors.

In the AV there are two hymns 19.7 and 19.8 relating to constellations. The first one gives us only the list of all the constellations. The deities of all constellations except Kṛttikā are to be inferred from the other sukta. There is a clear reference to 28 constellations in 19 8.2.3 The TS 4.4.10 also gives the list of constellations with their presiding deities. We find the direct references to the constellations along with their influences in the Brāhmaņa literature. I, here, refer to the TBr 1.5.2.

^{1.} See for example RV 7. 8. 8, स्तोतारं विप्र: सुदिनश्वे अहाम् ।

^{2.} Many writers have tried to fix the date of Varahamihira.

According to Dixit it is S'aka 427 (505 A.D.). Colebrooke has given the date as 472 A.D.

^{3.} अष्टाविंशानि शिवानि शग्मानि सह योगं भजनतु मे ।

One who desires that the king should be invincible should cause him to perform the sacrifice under Abhijit constellation which is between Uttarāṣādhā and Śṛavaṇa. Consequently the king becomes victorious over his enemies: अन्पज्यमेव भवति।

One who desires ample wealth of cattle should perform the sacrifices, prior to the Soma sacrifice under the Revatī constellation. The deity of Revatī is Pūṣan, the lord of cattle.

One should perform a marriage ceremony of his daughter under the Svāti. Thereby she will be loved by her husband. She will never return from her husband's house: तां निष्ट्यायां द्यात्। प्रियैव भवति। Nistyā is the name of Svāti.²

There are two groups of constellations. Constellations from Kṛṭṭṭikā to Visākhā are called Deva-nakṣatea-s. and from Anurādhā to Bharaṇī are called Yama-nakṣatra-s, Excluding the Yama-nakṣatra-s TBr 1.5.2 states that one, who performs a ceremony under the Deva-nakṣatra-s does that work on the auspicious day: यान्येन देवनसत्राणि तेषु दुर्वीत यत्कारी स्यात् पुण्याह एव कुहते।

While giving the details of various śrauta rites one can find references to constellations with their influences in the Brāhmaṇa literature. I, first, mention the first setting up of the sacred fires (अग्न्याधेय). TBr 1.1.2 mentions six constellations in this connection.

Kṛṭṭikā. A sacrificer who desires to have Brahman splendour should set up the sacred fires under Kṛṭṭikā. The deity of this constellation is the Fire: कृत्तिकास्विप्रमादधीत। एतद्वा अग्नेनेक्षत्रं व्यावर्वसी भवति। But if the sacrificer does so he loses his house: यहान् ह दाहको भवति।

^{1.} तस्माद् रेवत्यां पश्चनां कुर्वीत यत् किं चार्वाचीनं सोमात् ।

^{2.} See Apastamba GrS 3.5 निष्ट्याशब्दस्त्वाती।

^{3.} I, myself, have experienced the truth of the influence of this constellation. My father lost his house, as it caught fire five years after his setting up of the sacred fires under Krttikā.

Rohinī. A sacrificer who desires growth or prosperity on all sides should set up the sacred fires under Rohinī. From Manusmṛti 12.121, Prajāpati is known as the presiding deity of creation. Prajāpati is the deity of Rohinī.

Punarvasū. A sacrificer who desires to regain his old position should set up the sacred fires under Punarvasū. Aditi is its deity and is known as the protector of the universe and the support of the world: विश्वस्य भर्ती जगत: प्रतिष्ठा। TBr 3.1.1.4.

Pūrvāphalgunī. A sacrificer who desires that people should give wealth to him should set up the sacred fires under this constellation. Aryaman is its deity.

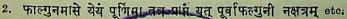
Uttarāphalgunī. A sacrificer who desires to obtain wealth, should set up the sacred fires under this constellation: यः कामयेत भगी स्थामिति। Bhaga is considered as its presiding deity. Bhaga is the sun. Bhaga also means prosperity. Commenting on this part Sāyaṇa quotes the following verse in which prosperity is said to have been divided into six categories:

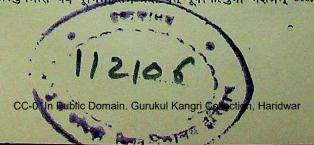
ऐश्वर्यस्य समग्रस्य धर्मस्य यशसः श्रियः । ज्ञानवैराग्ययोश्वेव षण्णां भग इतीरणा ॥

 $Citr\bar{a}$. A sacrificer who has enemies should set up his sacred fires under $Citr\bar{a}$. By doing this he kills his enemies and secures strength and lustre. Indra is the deity of this constellation as referred in TS 4.4.10.

After describing the constellations for the first setting up of the sacred fires, the details about the seasons are referred to. At the end of this chapter (i.e. TBr 1.1.2) Pūrvāphalgunī and Uttarāphalgunī are referred to. Prohibited as the Pūrvāphalgunī is, Uttarāphalgunī is considered as best for the setting up of the sacred fires: न प्वेयो: फल्गुन्योरिमनादधीत। उत्तरयोरादधीत। But this passage does not refer to these constellations according to their influences as regards fruits. Sāyaṇa explains² that if Pūrvāphalgunī is on the

1. See TBr 1. 1.2 अवकीर्येंव भ्रातृब्यान् ओजोबलिमन्द्रियं वीर्यमारमन्धत्ते।





full-moon day of *Phāl guna* it is to be avoided because that day is the last day of the year.

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 2.1.2 mentions six constellations (Kṛttikā, Rohiṇī, Punarvasū, Pūrvā, Uttarā and Citrā) as described above. This Brāhmaṇa, further mentions two more constellations Hasta and Mṛga. If a sacrificer desires to secures gifts from people he should set up his sacred fires under Hasta: हस्तेऽमी आद्भीत य इच्छेत् प्र मे दीयेतेति। As a prima facie view Mṛgasīrṣa is mentioned for one who desires wealth: श्रियं ह गच्छति। य एवं विद्वान मृगशीर्ष आधते। But as this constellation is nothing but the bodiless head of the Prajāpati in the form of a deer, this is to be prohibited for the setting up of the sacred fire.

The Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā gives the Rohiṇī, for this ceremony with different influences as regards fruits. One who desires prosperity of cattle and the heaven, should set up his sacred fires under Rohiṇī: रोहिण्यां पशुकामस्याद्ध्यात्। रोहिण्यां स्वर्गकामस्याद्ध्यात्।

There is a reference to $Citr\bar{a}$ constellation in the first rite of the Asvamedha described in TBr 3.8. At the beginning of this great sacrifice, a small rite is performed (viz. साङ्ग्रहणीष्टि) for securing the co-operation of all people. One should begin this great sacrifice under $Citr\bar{a}$. Then with the co-operation of all, this sacrifice will end successfully: चित्रा नक्षत्रं भवति । चित्रं वा एतत् कमें । यदश्चमेधः समृद्ध्ये । TBr 3.8.1.

The sacrifice called Odanasava is described in TBr 2.7. 10. It is stated that one should begin this sacrifice under Rohini. This constellation is considered as the Brahmana constellation. And hence one who performs the sacrifice under Rohini, attains to the highest position: ऐहिण्यां कार्य:। यद् त्राह्मण एवं ऐहिणी। तस्माद्थी वर्ष्मैवैन समानानां करोति। TBr 2.7. 10. Commenting on this part Sāyaṇa quotes a verse from certain works on astrology. The 28

^{1.} About this a story is told in Sat. Br. 2, 1.2.

^{2.} MS 1. 6. 9

सप्त सप्त कमाज्ज्ञेया विप्राद्याः कृत्तिकादयः — ज्योतिः शास्त्र ।

constellations are divided into four groups representing the four castes.

After studying some references in the Vedic texts we can arrive at the following conclusions.

Constellation	Influences

Kṛttikā ... Brahman splendour, danger to house.

Rohini ... Growth on all sides (TBr 1.1. 2). Cattle & Heaven (MS), attaining to the highest

position (TBr 2.7. 10).

Mrgasirsa ... Prosperity (Sat. Br.), but prohibited.

Punarvasū ... To regain the old position.

Pūrvāphal gunī ... Wealth from the people.

Uttaraphalguni ... Prosperity.

Hasta ... Gifts from the people (Śat. Br).

Citrā ... Victory, co-operation.

Svāti ... Good for marriage, love.

Abhijit ... Unconquered by any one.

Revatī ... Cattle.

Now I shall refer to the sacrificial session relating to constellations (नक्षत्रसत्र) described in TBr 3.1. Everyday there is one sacrifice for one constellation beginning with Krttika. Twentyeight sacrifices for the twentyeight constellations are performed serially, in which nine more sacrifices are to be added and the total number of the sacrifices in this session is thirtyseven. While giving the details of this sacrificial session, the references to the deities and the influences as regards fruits are referred to along with the particular constellations from which the exact relation between the constellation and its influences can be clearly inferred. Sometimes different influences are suggested in the Mantras relating to a particular constellation. These influences referred to along with the constellations appear to be at the basis of modern astrology. The constellations, the deities and the influences are tabulated here in the following table for clarification.

Quotations 52	अप्रिचें देवानामनादः उप ह वा एनै प्रिथमावर्तते	राज्यमभि जयति	पशुमान् ह वे भवति	प्रजायते प्रजया पशुभिः	ब्रह्मवर्चसी भवति, बाधेतां द्रषो	अभयं कृणुताम्	द्विषन्तं आतृब्यमुपनयति	मघास यह सुक्रते जुषनताम् 💆		पशुमान् ह वे भवति	श्रष्टी समानानां भवति	हस्तः प्रगच्छत्वस्तं वसीयः	प्रजां विन्दते	म्रस्ति अस्त महाम	द्रमस्मच्छत्रबो यन्त भीताः	शतै जीवेम शरदः सवीराः	क्षयं तरेम दुरितिम्
Influences	Food aff To secure favourable fruit 39		Cattle 43	Cattle & progeny No	Brahman splendour, protection from fear नह		To lead away the enemy f	To secure the world of manes, to offer HE	obsequial offerings	Cattle 43	To obtain the highest position, wealth Mr	Immortality & Et	Progeny 33	Abundant wealth	Highest position, to win over the enemies दह		To cross over misfortune gr
Deity	Agni Prajapati	Soma	Rudra	Aditi	Bṛhaspatī		Sarpa	Pitar		Aryaman	Bhaga	Savitŗ	Tvaștŗ	Vāyu	Indragni	Mitra	Indra
Constellatjon	Kyttika Rohiņī	Mrga	Ārdrā	Punarvasū	Pusya		Āslesā	Maghā		Fūrvā	Uttarā	Hasta	Citrā	Svāti	Visākhā	Anuradhā	Frestha

राज्यमभिजयति नः पन्थामभयं अनपजय्य ह ने जयति कृषिवृष्टि-दीर्घमायुः प्रतिरद् मेषजानि हढो ह या अशिषिको भनति गाने नो अश्रों अन्वेतु पूषा तेजस्वी ह वे ब्रह्मवर्चस्वी भवति मा नो अरातिरघरांसा गन् वाज सुनुतां यजमानाय आपः शर स्योना भवन्तु यंजमानाय कल्पताम् अपवाटमान भरणीभरन्तु पुण्यें ह वे स्वोक्तं श्र्याते वयं प्रतनाः संजयेम Quotations अवधिरो भवति प्रतिष्ठां विन्द्ते प्रजां विन्द्ते कृणात Unconquered by enemy, agriculture & rain. : : To win the kingdom, protection from fear, : Long life, medicine, physical strength and Protection from fear, highest position a good muscular body the destruction of sin Removal of deafness Cattle, food Good fame Happiness Influences Position Progeny Victory Lustre Ahirbudhnya? Vis/vedevāh Aja-ekapāt1 Prajapati Varuna Aśvinau Brahmā Deity Visnu Yama Pusan Vasu Ustarābhādrapadā Pūrvābhādrapadā Constellation Uttarāṣādhā Purvasadha Satabhisak Dhanigtha Sravana Abhijit Biarani Revati Mula Asvinī

^{1.} One of the exclusive epithets of Fire.
2. One of the exclusive epithets of Rudra.

VEDIC

26

At the end of the detailed description of the sacrificial session of the constellations Baudhayana Srautasūtra (28,4) says1: 'After performing this sacrificial session one should win over accidental death and should secure the position of lustre.'

There are a number of ancillary texts attatched to every Samhitā. I have referred, here, only to the Śāntikalpa and the Naksatrakalpa in the Atharvaparisista known as the ancillary text to the Atharvaveda. There are references to constellations in connection with some performances. But one has to infer the influences as regards the fruits. In the second chapter of Santikalpa2 there are some groups of constellations which are favourable for particular performances. From those groups one can easily consider the relation between the constellations and their influences as regards fruits. The groups are:

Constellations

Favourable for

Rohiņī, Uttarā, Uttarāṣāḍhā, Uttar Bhādrapadā	
Ārdrā, Ās'leṣā, Jyeṣṭhā, Mūlā	Permanent work - [धुव] Harsh or rough work- [दाहण
Pūnarvasū, Svati, Sravana, Dhan	i-
Mṛga, Citrā, Anurādhā, Revatī	Moveable work - [चर] Mild work - [मृद्]
Pusya, As'vini, Hasta, Abhijit Maghā, Bharanī, Pūrvā, Pūrvā	. Quick work - [क्सिम]
sādhā, Purvābhādrapadā	- . Fierce work - [রম]
Kṛttikā, Vis'ākhā	Any work

The Naksatrakalpa gives us much information about the constellations. At the beginning it gives the list of all constellations with their deities and the seers relating to them. In the 9th and 10th sections of this Kalpa we are told how the king should

^{1.} ज्योतिषामयनेनेष्ट्वा पापं निर्णुय ज्योतिष्ट्वमुपजायतेऽप पुनर्मृत्युं जयतीति ह स्माह बोधायन: ।

^{2.} Chapter II of Śāntikalpa is published by Bolling in Transactions of the American Philological Association, Vol. 35.1904.

^{3.} Published in The Parisistas of the Atharvaveda by Bolling and Negelein, Leipzig, 1909.

act on every constellation to achieve favourable fruits. I may refer, here, to some of them : आयुधीयान् विश्रद् राजा कृत्तिकासु वर्ते चरेत् । श्रविष्ठाभि: सुजेद रसान् । etc. In the 12th section there are some sacrifices to be performed on different constellations. One can find three groups of constellations: (1) from Krttikā to Pūrvāphalgunī, (2) from Uttarāphal gunī to Pūrvāsādhā, (3) from Uttarāsādhā to Bharanī. One should perform a sacrifice to every group to achieve the various fruits. But this grouping of constellations is not made in consideration of the influences and the deities of the constellations. In the 33rd section of this Kalpa all constellations are referred to in connection with the duration of diseases. This section begins with the words अथ रोगपरिमाणानि। It is told that a disease started on a particular constellation will be cured after a particular period. As for example, I may, here, state some of them: रोहिण्यां विंशतिरात्रम् । आर्द्रायां पश्चदशरात्रम् । etc. Vāgbhaṭa¹² has referred to all the constellations in connection with the duration of fever in the Astāngasangraha.2 It can be inferred that Vāgbhata had followed the scheme mentioned in the 33rd section of this Naksatrakalpa.

Then we come to the Kalpasūtras. In the Śrautasūtras the references to the constellations are being made according to the Brāhmaṇa literature. We can find some such references in the Gṛhyasūtras also. While describing the ceremonies like समावतिन there are references to constellations without their influences as regards fruits. Generally these sūtras refer to auspicious constellations in general terms like पुण्ये नक्षत्रे, पुण्योक्तानि नक्षत्राणि etc. In Baudhāyana Gṛḥyasūtra (Śeṣa) 3.9, there is a ceremony to Jyeṣṭhā constellation. One should perform a sacrifice to Jyeṣṭhā continuously for six months and then he obtains whatever he desires. The Āpastamba Gṛḥya Sūtra¹ refers to five constellations with their

^{1.} It is generally believed that Vagbhata flourished in the 6th century A.D.

^{2.} See Astāngasangraha, Nidānasthāna, Chapter 1.34.

^{3.} ज्येष्टादेवीमावास्य पूजयेत्.....सर्वान् कामान् अवाप्नोतीति ह स्माह भगवान् बोधायनः । 3-1-12.

^{4.} The date of Ap. Gr. Sūlra is understood to be 8th century B.C.

influences. If one should start to choose the bride on Mṛgasīrṣa, then he will be welcomed by all: इन्बकाभि: प्रसुज्यन्ते वरा: प्रतिनन्दिता: । The meaning of Invakā is Mṛga.¹ On Maghā one should purchase cows and bulls. One should arrange his armies on Pūrvā and Uttarāphalgunī.

We find the detailed description particularly of astronomy in the *Vedāngajyotiṣa*.² At the beginning of the *Yājuṣa Jyautiṣa*² we are told that one must know the principles of astronomy and astrology to understand the sciences of the sacrifices.⁴ In verse 36 of this book some fierce and cruel constellations are mentioned and these are to be prohibited for auspicious performances. The verse runs as:

उम्राण्याद्री च चित्रा च विशाखा श्रवणोऽश्वयुक् । कराणि तु मघा स्वाति: ज्येष्ठा मूलं यमस्य यत् ॥

In the Atharvaṇa Jyotiṣa there are references to constellations with their influences as regards fruits. But the particular number of the constellation from the birth-constellation is taken into consideration. In the Chapter called Nakṣatraprakaraṇa we are told of 9 groups, each containing 3 constellations. Various fruits are mentioned for these groups. As for example, I state only one here. The 2nd, 11th and 20th from the birth-constellation are called Sampatkara (दितीयमेकादर्श विश्वमेष संपदक्रो गण: 19.6) These 3 constellations are good for the beginning of study, for medicine, for penance, for bestowing gifts etc. But from such references it is not possible to judge the relation between the constellations, the deities and their influences as regard fruits.

Now we turn to the Brhatsamhitā of Varāhamihira, which is understood as one of the bases for modern astrological works. In

^{1.} See Ap. Gr. Sutra 2.4. 'इन्वकाशब्दो मृगशिर्सि ।'

The date of Vedāngajyotişa is 500 B. C. See Bhāratīya Jyotişašāstra by Dixit, p. 139.

^{3. &#}x27;Yājusa Jyautisam' ed. by Sudhakara Dvivedi, 1908.

^{4.} यो ज्योतिषं वेद स वेद यज्ञम् ॥ ३ ॥

^{5.} Ed. by Pt. Bhagavad Datta, Lahore, 1924.

the 15th chapter 28 constellations are mentioned, beginning with Kṛttikā, with their influences as regards fruits. The deities are not directly mentioned. There are seven groups of constellations mentioned in verses 28-30 of this chapter. Every group, containing 4 constellations, is favourable respectively to the Brāhmanas, Kṣatriyas, Farmers, Vaiśyas, cruel castes, servants and Caṇḍālas.

Krttika, Pūrvā Pūrvābhādrapadā, Pūrvā sādhā,	1	
Puşya, Uttarā, Uttarāṣādhā, Uttarābhāo padā		for Ksatriyas
Revatī, Anurādhā, Maghā, Rohinī	4001	for Farmers
Punarvasū, Hasta, Abhijit, As'vinī	•••	for Vaisyas
Mula, Ārdrā, Svāti, Śatatāraka	F.I.	for Cruel castes
Mṛga, Jyeṣṭhā, Citrā, Dhaniṣṭhā		for Servants
Ās'leṣā, Viśākhā, S'ravaṇa, Bharaṇī	•••	for Candalas

The 98th chapter of this Samhitā is called ন্ধন্যুলা: \ It gives us much information about the constellations. The deities of all constellations are referred to as before except the following. Rohinī—Brahmā, Pūrvāphalgunī—Yoni, Uttarāphalgunī—Aryaman, Mūla—Nirṛti. Verses from 6 to 11 in this chapter, have given us some groups of constellations with their influences as regards fruits. It seems that these fruits can be inferred from the respective deities of the constellations. This will be clear from the following table.

Constellation

Types of works

Rohinī, Uttarā, Uttarāṣādhā,	Permanent work like c	conceration,
Uttarābhādrapadā	religious duties etc.	[धुव]

Ārdrā, Ās'leṣā, Jyeṣṭhā, Mūlā Harsh work like killing etc. [বাংখ্য]

Sravaņa, Dhanisthā, S'atabhisak, Śvāti, Hasta ... Moveable work [नर] Mṛga, Citrā, Anuradhā, Mild work like friendship, auspi-Revatī ... cious ceremonies etc. [मृदु]

Puṣya, As'vinī, Hasta ... Light work like beginning of study, medicine, ornaments etc. [लघु]

Maghā, Bharaṇī, Pūrvā, Pūrvā- Fierce work like destroying, sādhā, Pūrvābhādrapadā ... deceitful work, fire etc. [ব্য়]

Kṛttikā, Vis'ākhā ... Mild and harsh work [मृदुतीक्ष्ण]

This grouping of constellations with their influences is very similar to that mentioned in the Śāntikalpa of Atharvaparisişta. The constellations favourable to marriage ceremony are mentioned. In the 12th verse the constellations for shaving are given.

SECTION III: CLASSICAL SANSKRIT

President: DR. G. V. DEVASTHALI, Nasik.

- 1. The Authorship of the Mrcchakatika Prof. Jagannath
- 2. A Note on the Ghatakarpara and the Meghadūta Dr. Ch. Vaudville
- 3. A Note on the Dramatic technique Garbhanka Prof. Kali Kinkar Datta
- 4. Some further light on Tailanga Vrajanatha E. V. V. Raghavacharya

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THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE MRCCHAKATIKA

By

Prof. Jagannath, Panjab University

The question of the authorship of the Mycchakaţika has been often discussed but no final or even a satisfactory solution has been found so far. Pischel's theory of Dandin's authorship recently revived by Professor Karmarkar' does not appear to be convincing. Professor Karmarkar merely relies on the affinity of style, which I am afraid, has not been proved in a satisfactory manner. Similarly, no evidence has been adduced for S'ūdraka's authorship; and Bhāsa's claim rests on the mere assumption based on the accident that the text of the Cārudatta has been found along with the other Trivandrum Plays.

The relationship between the Carudatta and the Mycchakaţika has been discussed by eminent scholars like Dr. S. K. Belvelkar' and the late Dr. V. S. Sukthankar. It can be stated without hesitation that neither the CD is an abridgement of the Mycchakaţika nor the latter an enlargement of the CD. The suggestion that the CD represents an original play which has been worked up by a later writer should be examined in some detail. The present paper is mainly concerned with this aspect of the problem.

Let us approach the question from the point of the dramatic art of the author of the Mṛcchakaṭika.

From a careful perusal of the drama it becomes clear that the author of the play had a clear plan of the whole plot in his mind from the very start. In the First Act we have been given a hint regarding the impending tragedy which is to overtake Cārudatta. As if subconsciously he makes a significant utterance while bewailing his poverty. Cārudatta is made to say:

दारिद्रचात्पुरुषस्य बान्धवजनो वाक्ये न सन्तिष्ठते सुस्तिग्धा विमुखीभवन्ति सुहृदः स्फारीभवन्त्यापदः ।

^{1.} NIA II. 2. POC Poona, 189, 204. 3. JAOS 42. 59.

सत्त्वं ह्रासमुपैति शीलशशिनः कान्तिः परिम्लायते ।।

The last line is to us an unmistakable reference to the accusation brought against Cārudatta that he is responsible for the murder of Vasantasenā. With our knowledge of the plot, we can appreciate how cleverly the author has thrown a hint regarding the events to come.

It is a patent fact that all the intensely dramatic situations occur after the Fourth Act. In the Fifth, we have the humorous situation where the Vita announces the arrival of Vasantasenā by throwing stones at the Viduşaka and gives indirect hints which the thick-witted Viduşaka is unable to understand and makes a complete fool of himself.

The Sixth Act contains a highly dramatic scene. Radanikā, the maid-servant of Cārudatta, and the latter's son enter. The boy is weeping. Vasantasenā asks Radanikā whose child he was. She is told that the boy was Cārudatta's son. She enquires as to why he was crying? Radanikā tells her that he wanted to play with a golden cart of a neighbour's child and was not happy with his own clay toy-cart. The following conversation ensues and is so touching that it deserves to be repeated in original:

दारक: - रदनिके ! कैषा ?

रदनिका - आर्था ते जननी भवति ।

दारकः - रदिनके ! अलीकं त्वं भणिस । यद्यस्माकमार्या जननी तिकमर्थमलङ्कता ?

वसन्तसेना - जात ! मुग्धेन मुखेनातिकरणं मन्त्रयसे । (नाटचेनाभरणा-न्यवतार्य) एषेदानीं ते जननी संवृत्ता । तद्गृहाणैतं अलङ्कारम् । सुवर्णशकटिकां कार्य ।

दारकः - अपेहि। न प्रहीष्यामि। रोदिषि त्वम्। वसन्तसेना - जात! न रोदिष्यामि। गच्छ। कीड।

The whole situation is highly emotional and full of consequences for the future. The ornaments which had changed hands between Carudatta and Vasantsenā twice before, once again come

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE MRCCHAKATIKA

back to the possession of Carudatta, to provide as it were the fateful proof of Carudatta's guilt. The incident of the clay toycart is so full of consequences that the dramatist has rightly named the play after this incident. In this very Act, we are introduced to the dramatic exchange of vehicles which takes place in a most natural manner. Cārudatta's charioteer comes to take Vasantasenā to the garden. She asks him to wait till she finished her toilet. The charioteer too had forgotten to bring the cushions. He now finds time and drives away the chariot from the door. In the meantime the road gets crowded. There is a traffic jam. S'akāra's chariot perforce stops before Cārudatta's house. Vasantasenā comes in a hurry and gets into it. She does not recognise it on account of her haste and the eagerness to go to meet her lover. Thus she is put in the wrong conveyance which was to lead to her strangulation. In the meantime Carudatta's chariot also comes back only to provide a shelter for the rebel Aryaka who, with fetters on the legs, gets in. The charioteer hearing the jingling of the iron fetters takes him for a lady and drives away. The chariot is stopped on the way by the city guards and Aryaka's escape to a place of safety becomes precarious. There are many a moment of suspense and we hold our breath to see whether Aryaka escapes or is caught.

Similarly, the trial scene in Act Nine and the dramatic though fruitless effort of S'akāra's servant to save Cārudatta by jumping from the house-top to tell the truth about Vasantasenā's murder are creations of a master dramatist.

We, thus find that it is in Acts 5 to 10 that the dramatist shows his art at its best. May we not poise the question, whether the writer who could create the clay-cart scene, the exchange of vehicles, the escape of Āryaka, and the indictment of Cārudatta, can be regarded as one who played the role not much better than that of a plagiarist? The answer must be in an emphatic negative. The author of Mṛcchakaṭika displays high talent in creating dramatic conflicts and in providing their most natural solutions. His is an original and active brain. Since it is clear that neither the CD is an abridgement of the Mṛcchakaṭika nor the

latter an enlargement of the former, the conclusion that it is a mere torso of the first draft of the play, becomes irresistable.

Regarding the authorship of the Mychhakaţika, all doubts must be set to rest by the statement of Rāmchandra and Guṇacandra in the Nāṭyadarpaņa that it is a work of the illustrious S'ūdraka:

तत्र पताकाया मुरुंयत्वं यथा—श्रीशृह्दकविरचितायां मृच्छकटिकायां पूर्वीपकारोप-गृहीतस्य आर्यकस्य । (GOS edn., p 48).

A NOTE ON THE GHATAKARPARA AND THE MEGHADUTA

By

Dr. Ch. Vaudville, E.F.E.O., Paris

The extraordinary development of the Samdesa or Dūta literature in Sanskrit as well as in the vernaculars, has generally been ascribed to the influence of Kālidāsa's masterpiece, the Meghadūta. The work has had a large number of imitations, sometimes slavish imitations, but little is known of its origins. The numerous commentaries are rather vague on this point. The critics have generally accepted without question the assertion of Mallinātha and other late commentators who consider that Kālidāsa had taken the idea of his poem from the Vālmīki Rāmāyaŋa, where Rāma sends Hanūmat as a messenger to Sītā in Lankā. The assumption is based on MD 99, where the Yakṣa's wife, eargerly listening to the cloud, is compared to Sītā anxiously raising her face towards Rāma's messenger.²

- On the imitations of the MD cf. S.K. De, History of Sanskrit Literature, Culcutta, 1947, pp. 39-40, 372-375; H. H. Rama Varma, Maharaja of Travancore, "Suka-samdeáa. A Sanskrit poem", JRAS 1884, pp. 401 ff.; Monmohan Chakravarti, "Pavanadūtam or the Wind-Message" JRAS New Series, vol. I, 1905, pp. 41 ff.; Chintaharan Chakravarti, "Origin and development of Dūta-Kāvya literature in Samskrit", IHQ (1925) pp. 273 ff.: E. P. Radhakrishnan, "The Meghadūta and its imitations", JOR vol. X (1936) pp. 269 ff., vol. XIII, p, 23 ff.; Also J. B. Chaudhuri, ed. "Sanskrit-Dūta-kāvya-samgraha", (6 vol.)
- 2. Cf. The Meghadūta with Mallinātha's Commentary, ed, by Nandargikar, Bombay 1894, I, 1. This commentary, called Samjīvanī, is the most popular of all commentaries on the MD. It has been composed by Mallinātha in the latter part of the XIVth century. The commentary of Vallabhadeva, the earliest known commentator (Xth-XIth A.D.), has been edited by Hultzsch. The Subodhā commentary of Mallika, composed in the XVIIth century in Bengal, has been edited by J. B. Chaudhuri (Calcutta, 1951) together with extracts from other unpublished commentaries. Our references to the MD are to the latter edition. A more recent edition by S. K. De has been published by the Sahitya Akademi (New-Delhi, 1956). In his introduction S. K. De mentions as a possible source of the MD, besides the embassy of Hanūmat to Sītā in the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, the message sent by Damayantī to Nala through a swan in Mbh. III, 533, 1-2.

The frequent reminiscences of Vālmīki in the Meghadtūa, however, do not entitle us to assume, without further investigation that Kālidāsa is indebted to Vālmīki for his theme. But the very skill shown by the poet in the handling of the theme, the absence of other similar works of the same antiquity (with one exception) and the fact that all subsequent dūta-kāvyas have been influenced by the Meghadūta, make it somewhat difficult to determine the general characteristics of the Samdeša literature before Kālidāsa. The only point of comparison is the short poem known as Ghatakarparakāvya, attributed to a poet of that name, traditionally held as a contemporary of Kālidāsa, and as one of the nine "gems" of Vikramāditya's court. The poem shows considerable differences in form from the Meghadūta, and, though not lacking in merits, has suffered comparative neglect on account of the brilliant achievement of Kālidāsa.

The Ghaṭakarpara-kāvya, which owes its name to an allusion to a "broken pitcher", ghaṭakarpara, in its last verse, is a small yamaka-kāvya of verses, expressing the feelings of a wife whose husband is abroad, at the beginning of the rainy season. Various lyrical metres are used, and each stanza displays a skilful use of the "yamaka" device (medial and final yamaka).

Commentators and critics have shown some degree of embarassment in attempting to define the form and nature of that little poem. In the introduction to his edition of the work, Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri argues convincingly that the Ghatakarpara "cannot but be a dūta-kāvya and in all probability was composed before the Meghadūta". He considers it as "almost a prototype

³ First ed. by G. M. Dursch, Berlin, 1828, with an anonymous commentary, and German and Latin translations. Ed. by Haeberlin, in Kāvya-Samgraha, p. 120 f., reprinted by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara in his Kāvya-Samgraha, I (Cal., 1886, pp. 357-66). Ed. by Pt. Madhusudan Kaul Shastri, with "Vivṛti" Commentary of Abhinavagupta, Kashmir Sanskrit Series, LXVII, Srinagar, 1945. Our references to GK are to this edition. Ed. by J. B. Chaudhuri; (Cal. 1953, Sanskrit Dūta Kāvya-Samgraha No. 6) with Introduction and notes, extracts from other commentaries, and English translation. For the English translations given in this paper, we are largely indebted to Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri, though we differ from him on several points.

of the Meghadūta", though "not exactly a dūta-kāvva in form" by which he evidently means that the Ghatakarpara fails to conform with the neat, classical pattern of the Samdesa, as set up by Kālidāsa. As a matter of fact, the three "essential" characters of a dūta-kāvya, the lover, beloved and messenger, are hardly to be found in the Ghatakarpara: apart from the opening and final stanzas, where the poet himself is the speaker, there is really but one single character—the deserted wife, who expresses her sorrow and yearnings, while describing the natural beauties of the rainy season. There is no suggestion of actual dialogue, though the nayika addresses in turn the passing clouds, the cruel husband, or her confidante, (sakhī). This appeared to the commentators as an anomaly and they generally attempted to supply the poem with some kind of articulation, by supposing a number of interrelated characters. The author of the oldest commentary Abhinavagupta himself' distinguishes no less than five speakers: besides the poet himself and the nāyikā, he supposes a sahkī, a dūtī and a pratidutī the latter sent by the husband to comfort the grief-striken wife.

A short analysis of the poem will bring out its contents and its characteristics:

- In the first verse, the poet introduces the nāyikā, who is a proṣitapramadā, i.e., a disconsolate lady separated from her dear one at the beginning of the rainy season. From St. 2 begin the lamentations of the nāyikā.
- 2-9. In St. 1 and 2, the nayika addresses the passing clouds.
 - "O Clouds! Of all times, you have come to me at a time when my dear one is away. Would you kill me in the absence of my merciless one, now serving in a foreign land?
 - "O Clouds that traverse long distances soon! Speak to that roguish traveller (pathika-pāmsula): "You should renounce your passion [which detains you] in a foreign land or renounce your wife"; what more can I say!"

^{4.} The Vivrti Commentary, published in Kashmir Sanskrit Series, cf. supra.

In these two stanzas, the $n\bar{a}yik\bar{a}$ appears to be entrusting a message for her husband to the new monsoon clouds. The forgetful husband is conceived as a "traveller" (pathika) 'serving in a foreign land" (paradesasevin). She expresses the fear that the clouds may kill her, since their appearance put an end to her hope of the early return of her lord. She naturally suspects his fidelity, and warns that the pain of separation will soon bring about her own death.

The following two stanzas, addressed by the nāyikā to her husband, suggest the sorrow of the bereaved lady by describing the happy meetings of the celebrated birds, whose ardent expectations find their fulfilment at the beginning of the rainy season: the hamsas which fly in a line to the lake Mānasa, the cātakas and the peacocks.

In stanzas 6-7, the lady describes her love sickness to her husband, and pleads for mercy. The powerful effects of the monsoon clouds on lovers are again mentioned twice:

"The peacocks delighted by the rumbling of the clouds cause great pain in the hearts of the deserted women...
...Your wife today is emaciated by the coming of the clouds...".

She describes herself with her locks of hair falling on her pale cheeks (pāṇḍugaṇḍapatitālakā); thrown into an "ocean of grief" (śokasāgara); she is supported and maintained in life by the remembrance of her husband's perfections (tvadguṇasmaraṇam). (The latter expression may be interpreted also as "the celebration of thy praise"). This self-portrait of the proṣitapramadā is very similar to the more developed portrait of the afflicted Yakṣa's wife in the Meghadūta, but, here, it is, more naturally, attributed to the nāyikā herself, appealing to the compassion of her spouse.

The first seven verses are in the Rathoddhatā metre; from verse 8 onwards, various lyrical metres are used and there is even more looseness in the composition. Stanzas 8 and 9 appear as mere variations on the same theme. In st. 8 the nāyikā

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appeals once more to her husband's compassion; in st. 9, however, she addresses her $sakh\bar{\imath}$:

- "Now that the roads have been destroyed by the rains, and that Kāma with his bow aims at me who am separated from him (my husband), tormented as I am by the deep rumbling of the clouds, O my friend, how shall I be able to escape the flame of that grief born from the separation from my beloved?"
- 10-14. The following five stanzas, in five different metres, have a distinctive character and a slightly different theme. In st. 15 the nāyikā describes the pleasantness of the groves "fanned by the wind blowing along with rumbling clouds". In the next three verses she addresses in turn the Sarja tree (st. 11), the "newly blossomed Kadamba" and the Kuṭaja flowers (st. 12), the Nīpa tree (st. 13)-all of them known as tormenters of bereaved lovers. The tone of the passage is not free from preciosity; the apostrophes to the blossoming trees appear more as literary devices than as outbursts of passion. St. 14 introduces the bee:
 - "The bee, noticing the advent of spring, kisses the jasmine creeper..."
 - The mention of spring (madhu) seems out of place here. The bee itself invariably appears as a sympol of the male lover in Sanskrit poetry. It is noticeable that, in the whole passage, there is not a single word to show that the speaker is a woman. This has to be inferred from the context.
- 15-18. The following four stanzas are purely descriptive in character; once more, the rainy season is described with reference to the plight of separated lovers in general. No speaker is mentioned. St. 15 again describes the sky overcast with clouds "that pierce the hearts of deserted ladies"; St. 16, addressed to a beautiful lady, again mentions the clouds, the hamsas and the peacocks.

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- "O thou with kunda-like teeth! The hamsas, frightened by the rumbling of the clouds, have taken to flight; today the night is moonless, and the peacocks, intoxicated by new rain-water, dance at the arrival of the clouds...".
- St. 17 mentions the sleep of Viṣṇu during the rainy season, and st. 18 describes the rain falling on the mountains and rushing into caves with terrific noise.
- 19-20. St. 19 and 20 round off the theme by summing up the happy and unhappy effects of the rainy season on lovers in general:
 - "It is the time when a person easily pacifies the dear one enraged during love-welfare. The rumbling clouds make the travellers much worried. Endless pangs of their beloveds are also on the increase.
 - "This season is welcome only to those ladies who enjoy themselves in the company of their lovers at the advent of clouds and render their dear ones equally happy, during the days overcast with resonant clouds, studded with rainbows."
 - 21. The last verse is the poet's own conclusion, where he boasts of his skill in yamakas and challenges all other poets to outdo him on that score. In the last verse, there is a probable pun on the word ghaṭakarpara, "broken pitcher", which has been taken as the name (or the nickname?) of the poet himself:
 - "I swear by the loves of enamoured damsels, thirsty having received water to be sipped from the hollow palms of my hands: if I be vanquished by any other poet in the use of yamakas I shall (henceforth) carry water for him in in a broken pitcher."

According to Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri, the Ghatakarpara represents "an intermediate stage between the Epic and the Meghadūta, both in form and matter". Yet, the analysis shows that there is

^{5.} J. B. Chaudhuri, ed. of the Ghatakarpara, Introduction, p. 7.

hardly anything in the poem to support this assertion - not even an allusion to the Rāma-legend, as found in the Meghadūta. The composition is rather loose, strikingly lyrical in character; only lyrical metres are used. If we set aside the first and last verses where the poet speaks in his own name, we find that the work is made of three sequences of verses, which we shall call A, B, C.

- A. (2-9): The $n\bar{a}yik\bar{a}$ laments her sorrow at the beginning of $\bar{A}s\bar{a}dha$, addressing in turns the clouds, her far away husband and her $sakh\bar{i}$.
- B. (10-14): Forms a kind of interlude: an anonymous lover who, according to the context, must be taken as the the nayika, but who should rather be a male character, addresses lyrical reproaches to blossoming trees and the bee.
- C. (15-20) merely describe the rainy season and its effects on lovers in general. Much of it appears as a repetition of what is found in A. The only person addressed is a young lady with "kunda-like teeth". The speaker is uncertain, but might be a sakhī of the nāyikā.

From one sequence to another there is no progression, and no dramatic action, except for a faint suggestion of the wandering and ravings of a demented lover in sequence B, which shows a striking parallelism with some passages in Act IV of the Vikramorvasī and Act IX of the Mālatī-Mādhava.⁶ The motif here seems to be that of the "mad lover", known in folk-literature from very ancient times, where it appears always connected with a male character.⁷ It is noticeable that Kālidāsa himself has alluded to that motif in MD. 5, to justify the choice of an

^{6.} J. B. Chaudhuri, op. cit. pp. 51-52, gives several references; GK 16 [II in Abhin. text], Māl-M. IX, 16; GK 17 [12 in Abhin. text], Vikram. IV, 30, Māl-M III, 7 & Mṛcchak. V. 14); GK 19 [14 in Abhin. text], Vikram. IV. 24.

As in the story of Sudhana-kumāra, recorded in the Divyāvadāna.
 (ed. E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil, Cambridge, 1886) ch. XXX & XXXI

inanimate being like the cloud as a messenger by his love-lorn Yaksa.

Whilst the third sequence is mostly descriptive, the first shows a fuller and more lyrical development of the pravāsa theme. Nayikā is prositapramadā, her absent spouse is a pathika and she suspects his fidelity. The expression of her yearning and sorrow is intimately blended with the description of the first monsoon clouds and the breaking out of the rains. As heralding the coming of the rains, the clouds assume a considerable importance and emotional significance. Not only are they mentioned again and again, in nearly every stanza, but the nāyikā addresses them directly in St. 2 and 3. Yet, the context makes it clear that this is not to be taken as an actual message, but rather as a lyrical "envolée." The monsoon clouds are addressed in the plural as a whole, and the poet, unlike Kalidasa, makes no attempt at characterising them. Moreover, in the following stanzas, the lady addresses her husband directly, and the clouds are mentioned again and again in the third person.

Ample evidence of the importance and development of the pravāsa theme in lyrical poetry before Kālidāsa is afforded by the Sattasāi of Hāla. In the Sattasāi, the Gāthās are sometimes addressed by the deserted lady to her far-away husband, or to her sakhī, sometimes by the sakhī to the $n\bar{a}yik\bar{a}$ whom she seeks to comfort, or else by a dūtī or female messenger, who is supposed to describe to the husband, in pathetic terms, the pitiful condition of his faithful wife, scorched by the flame of viraha. The absent husband, is frequently addressed as pathika; he is a merchant or he is engaged in the service of another. Invariably his young wife suspects his fidelity and expresses her jealousy and anxiety at his delay. She eargerly awaits the appearance of the first monsoon clouds which, she hopes, will serve as a reminder to the traveller that the time for business is over, and will bring him home at last. If however he fails to appear at this crucial moment, knowing for certain that her fate is now sealed for several months, she will break into lamentations and invectives, interspersed with pathetic appeals for mercy, declaring herself unable to survive the fires of separation. The treatment of the pravāsa theme in Hāla's Sattasāi,

therefore, appears strikingly similar to what we find in the Ghata-karpara. In the Sattasāī, as in the Ghatakarpara, there is a variety of speakers, interlocutors and messengers; yet the theme remains more lyrical than dramatic. The messenger is never characterised as such, and the message itself is not distinct from the lamentation. Whenever a real message seems to be implied, it is nearly always sent by the lady-love to her beloved and it consists in little more than in a description of the natural beauties of the rainy season and the miserable condition of the love-lorn damsel, her pale cheeks, wasted body, uncared-for hair, etc. In other words, the message itself is always more or less of a fancy, and serves to express in a more pathetic and striking way, the sorrow and longing of the heroine.

The large number of verses on this theme in Hāla's Sattasāī, and also in Amaru and Bhartrhari satakas, suggests the existence, at an early date, of a fairly large literature on the subject, probably in the form of popular songs of the rainy season, sung by women in some form of Apabhramsa. An allusion to this type of songs should probably be read in MD 85, which describes the young wife of the Yaksa, her eyes full of tears, singing to the accompaniment of the tantrī a song "composed by herself" and "marked with the name of her beloved", madgotrānkam viracitapadam geyam.

Time does not allow me to venture on a detailed analysis of the setting of the Meghadūta, in order to show that the whole poem appears as a graceful design woven on the canvas of a simple popular theme. It would be equally interesting to study the procédés used by Kālidāsa to dramatise his theme, while exploiting all its lyrical potentialities. It is likely that in making the Yakṣa the sender and the Yakṣā the recipient of the message, Kālidāsa has boldly reversed the traditional pattern of the pravāsa theme, as evidenced by Hāla's Sattasāī and the Ghatakarpara, and also by comparison with later dūta-kāvyas: most of these, though largely influenced by the Meghadūta, show nevertheless a characteristic "reversal" of Kālidāsa's theme, the nāyikā being the sender of the message. The two oldest extant imitations of the Meghadūta, the Candradūta of Jambu Kavi and the Pavanadūta

of Dhoyis, show such a "reversal" of the theme, which would hardly be explainable, had it not been based on the well-established tradition of the Samdesa literature, Kālidāsa himself appearing as an innovator in this respects.

It is not unlikely that, even before Kālidāsa, songs of the rainy season on the pravāsa theme may have been sung in the form of popular ballads, similar to the pānihārī gīt or jānt gīt, ballads of the well or of the grinding wheel, such as we find even today in the folk-literature of the vernaculars. The reference to the water "to be sipped from the palm of the hands" and to the broken pitcher in the last verse of the Ghaṭakarpara seems to point to such a source. The popular ballads known as $B\bar{a}rahm\bar{a}s\bar{a}s$ or Caumāsās on the Viraha theme generally mention in the first line of the first verse the coming of $A\bar{s}a\bar{d}ha$ and the appearance of the clouds, at the sight of which the sorrowful virahinī would break out in lamentations.

Some commentators have followed Vallabhadeva, who proposed to correct prathamadivase in MD 2 into prasamadivase: "on the last day of Aṣāḍha". The correction is based on the assumption that the rainy season begins with the month of Sāvan (Śrāvaṇa), Āṣāḍha being reckoned as the last month of summer. But folk-literature generally ignores the classical division of the year into six seasons and upholds the ancient division into three

8. Pavanadūta of Dhoyi or Dhoyika, court-poet of King Laksmanasena of Bengal (12th cent. A. D.)

First ed. by Monmohan Chakravarti, in JASB, 1905. pp. 53-68. (Based on one single ms.; the text is very corrupt). Ed. by Chintaharan Chakravarti, Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣad Serirs, No. 13, with comprehensive introduction; German translation with Introduction by S. Lienhard, Das Pavanadūta des Dhoyī, Orientalia Suecana, vol. VII (1958) Uppsala, 1959.

Candradūta of Jambu Kavi, ed. by J. B. Chaudhuri, Sanskrit Dūtakāvya-Samgraha, No. 3, Calcutta 1941.

According to J.B. Chaudhuri (*ibid*. Introduction) the work is not later than the Xth or XIth cent. A.D., and therefore earlier than the *Pavanadūta* of Dhoyi by one or two centuries.

9. It is worth noticing that, in the Nala-Damayanti episode of the Mahābhārata it is Damayanti who sends the swan to Nala. Cf. note 2.

seasons: grīşma, varṣa, hemanta.¹⁰ The four months attributed to the rainy season, reckoned from Āṣāḍha, coincide with the legend of the sleep of god Viṣṇu from the 11th Āṣāḍha to the 11th Kārttika, alluded to in the Meghadūta (110), as well as in the Ghaṭakarparakāvya (17). It also accounts for the popular lyrical form known as caumāsā, which generally begins with the description of Āṣāḍha. The reliance of Kālidāsa on popular tradition in the setting of his theme explains how the lamentations of the bereaved Yakṣa begin precisely with the first day of Āṣāḍha, though he is supposed to have been separated from his beloved for eight months already.

The commentators have found it difficult to reconcile the mention of the "first day of Asadha, in MD 2 with the first words of MD. 4: pratyāsnne nabhasi, "Sāvan being near at hand". The various explanations which they have proposed to solve the difficulty are rather unsatisfactory, as admitted by Assier de Pompignan. 11 Again, the passage from Asadha to Savan appears to us natural enough, in the perspective of the popular songs on the rainy season from which we believe that Kālidāsa has borrowed this theme. The expression pratyasanne nabhasi (which shows the rare archaic word nabhas, instead of Śrāvaṇa) at the opening of verse 4, coming soon after asadhasya prathamadivase in verse 2, is strongly reminiscent of the technique of the popular caumāsā or bārahmāsā, in which each verse invariably begins with the mention of the month described: while Aşādha is associated with threatening clouds, it is only towards the beginning of Savan that the rains start falling in abundance. An instance of that style of composition may be found in the famous Bārahmāsā of Nāgamatī, in the Padmāvat of Jāyasī:

^{10.} The number of seasons was not stereotyped in the early period. There is inscriptional evidence to show that three or four was the number of popular seasons as late as the 2nd century A. D. "The Brahmi inscription of the Scytho-Kuṣāṇas proves beyond doubt that the year was divided into three seasons: grīṣma, varṣa and hemanta, of four months each." (D. C. Sircar, "The Chandaḥsūtra of Pingala" Indian Culture, vol. VI (1939), p. 110.)

^{11.} Le Meghadūta et le Rtusamhāra, traduction francaise par Assier de Pompignan (Collection Emile Senart), p. 22, note.

Padm. 344. carha asārh gamgan ghan gājā |

"Asarh has come and the clouds thunder in the sky..."

345: sāvan baris meha āti pānī /
"In Sāvan, the clouds shed rains exceedingly..."

The selection of a cloud as a carrier of a love message, which has been so often discussed as a strange device, and even strongly criticised by Bhāmaha,12 finds a natural explanation in the same perspective. As we have seen, both the Prakrit Sattasaī where the pravāsa theme is abundantly treated in a number of independent lyrical verses and the Ghatakarpara-kāvya, which appears as a kind of ballad, made of several sequences of verses on the same theme, testify to the pathetic significance attached to the Asadha clouds in ancient folk-poetry from which they derive their inspiration. Moreover, the address of the nayika to the clouds in the Ghatakarpara already brings out the dramatic potentiality of the lyrical motif. Viewed in that perspective, the choice of a new monsoon-cloud as the actul carrier of the love-message in the Meghaduta appears less as a novel invention on the part of the poet than as a skillful exploitation of the potentialities of his theme. In the reversing of the traditional setting of the theme, by making the male partner the sender of the message, Kālidāsa may have been influenced by the example of the Vālmīki Ramayana.

The limits of this paper do not allow me to carry on my investigations any further. I believe however that this analysis of the contents of the Ghaṭakarpara-kāvya and its comparison with the Meghadūta may be carried further, as it is likely to throw some light on the origin and nature of the Sandeśa literature and the dependance of Kālidāsa himself on an ancient iradition of popular lyrics on the pravāsa theme. Further investigation on these lines may yield some information on the sources of other works of Kālidāsa, as well as on the origins of the Kāvya literature.

^{12.} Bhamaha, in his Kāvyālamkāra, I. 42-44, has condemned the poets who attribute the role of messengers to beings naturally devoid of the power of speech, such as clouds, wind, moon, bee etc.

A NOTE ON THE DRAMATIC TECHNIQUE 'GARBHANKA'

By

Prof. Kali Kumar Datta, Calcutta.

The name of the great sage Bharata is too well-known in ancient Sanskrit literature and his connections with dramaturgy and dramatic performances are referred to with a deep note of reverence by such great masters as Kālidāsa' and Bhavabhūti.2 We are, however, not sure if the Natyasastra available to us is really a work from the pen of that great sage or it is a work of a later writer ascribed to Bharata. It may also be the case that the present Natyasastra is an inflated version based upon the framework of the ancient Natvasastra of Bharata. Whatever may be the case, there are no two opinions in the matter that Bharata is looked upon as the very fountain-head of the science of dramaturgy in ancient India. Though there is nothing in any work on dramaturgy in Sanskrit to dispute the authority of Bharata, still it appears from the trend of later dramaturgical works that Bharata is not the sole authority of their doctrines. The fivefold division of drama by Śāradātanaya on the authority of Subandhu and the classification of Vikramorvasīya of Kālidāsa as a 'Totaka' ('Trotaka') variety of dramatic composition by some scholiasts may be mentioned as pointers to this fact. There are ample reasons to believe that later theorists have incorporated into their systems many such things that cannot be found in Bharata's work handed down to us. We are not in a position now to ascertain whether these authors got these things from the text of the Natysastra available to them or from some other accredited

^{1.} In the prelude to the third Act of the Vikramorvasīyam.

^{2.} Bharatasya munes tauryatrika-sūtrakārasya ... sa kila bhagavān Bharatas tam apsarobhih prayojayişyatīti. (*Uttararāmacaritam*, Act. IV.)

Subandhur nāṭakasy āpi lakṣaṇam prāha pañcadhā / Bhāva-prakāśana, ed. GOS., p. 238, lines 15-22.)

^{4.} loc. cit.; Sāhityadarpaņa, Chap. VI.; commentaries on the drama.

authority on the subject or these are innovations introduced in the system by way of extending recognition to practices which were well-established by convention prevalent during their times.

Whatever be the case, there is no gainsaying the fact that there are cases of deviations from the path chalked out by Bharata in later works on dramaturgy. Presumably these deviations owe their origin to the contemporary dramatic practices which not only introduced innovations in the system of Bharata but also rejected some of the sanctions of the Natyasastra. In this connection we may refer to Sagaranandin who says that the sequence of Nandi which is sanctioned by Bharata cannot be presented in any human assembly because it is highly complicated. Here we see the case of rejection of the sanctions made by Bharata. Cases of innovations also are not very far to seek. In addition to the case of acceptance of the Totaka (Trotaka) variety of dramatic composition referred to above we may mention the case of extending the number of 'padas' in the Nandi of a drama by later theorists. We know that Bharata speaks of the eight or twelve padas in the Nandi which is echoed by Sagaranandin and Vis'vanātha. S'āradātanaya also accepts the same number. But S'ingabhupāla10 and Rupagosvāmin11 accept the Nandī of ten padas also in addition to the list mentioned above. According to Vidyanatha, however, the number of padas in Nandi should be eight, twelve, eighteen or twentytwo.12 Ramacandra and Gunacandra again make the number three, four, eight or sixteen.12 We need not multiply instances.

Nāṭakalakṣaṇa-ratnakośa of Sāgaranandin, ed. Myles Dillon, London, 1937, Vol. 1., p. 49.

^{6.} Nātyašāstra of Bharata, ed. Kashi Sanskrit Series, V. 107.

^{7.} op. cit., p. 46.

^{8.} Sāhityadarpaņa of Viśvanātha, VI. 25.

^{9.} Bhavaprakasana, op. cit. p. 197.

^{10.} Rasārņava-sudhākara, ed. T. Ganapati Sastri, TSS. No. L., III. 138.

^{11.} Nātaka-candrikā, ed. Puridas, Maimansingh, 1948., verse 15.

^{12.} Pratāparudra-yasobhūṣaṇa, ed. K. P. Trivedi, Bombay Sanskrit & Prakrit Series, No. LXV., 1909, Nāṭaka-prakaraṇa, p. 123.

^{13.} Nātya-darpaņa, GOS. No. XLVIII., 1929, pp. 192-193.

Thus it is clear that there are a number of non-Bharatan features in some of the later works on dramaturgy in Sanskrit and from these we can be sure that the writers of dramaturgy in Sanskrit did not confine their activities merely to dogmatise what was sanctioned by Bharata but they never failed to rise to the occasion whenever dramatic exigencies demanded their systematisation.

From all these facts the conclusion is irresistible that in those days drama played a very important role in the cultural life of the people of India and that dramaturgy too was a living subject in those days.

There are many infallible evidences to show that dramaturgy in Sanskrit has its origin, growth and development in course of time in a life-like manner. We propose here to take up the case of the development of the dramatic technique 'Garbhānka' which is one of the many.

According to Vis'vanātha' the Garbhānka is an 'anka' within an 'anka' which not only consists of the 'Amukha' and 'Rangadvāra', but contains the Seed ('Bīja') and the Fruit ('Phala') as well. From the fact that the Garbhānka according to Visvanātha's conception shall contain Rangadvāra, Amukha, Bīja and Phala, it is clear that it is not merely an anka within an anka, but rather a drama within a drama or an 'embryonic drama' as Keith' prefers to call it. As an instance of Garbhānka Vis'vanātha cites the scene of Sītāsvayamvara found in the third Act of Rājaśekhara's Bālarāmāyana. It is interesting to note here that though Viśvanātha was acquainted with the writings of Bhavabhūti and S'rīharsa yet he did not think it proper to cite instances from those dramatists.

The next writer on dramaturgy to mention this technique is S'ingabhūpāla whose definition of Garbhānka is a bit more elabo-

^{14. &}quot;Ankodarapravisto yo rangadvārāmukhādimān |
Anko parah sa garbhānkah sabījah phulavān api ||
Sāhitya-darpaṇa, VI. 279, ed. Jivananda
Vidyasagara, Calcutta, 1900.

^{15.} Sanskrit Drama, A. B. Keith, Oxford, 1924.

rate than that given by Vis'vanatha.10 He emphasises the point that the technique known as Garbhanka adds a greater dose of excellence to the sentiment (Rasa), the hero (Nāyaka) and the plot (Vastu). According to Singabhupala the Garbhanka shall consist of the Amukha but its extent will be as short as possible," while Viśvanātha makes no such restriction about the span of the Amukha in the Garbhanka. Viśvanātha speaks of the Pūrvaranga in the Garbhānka while Śingabhūpāla has Nāndī instead. He also restricts the scope of Nandi by saying that the Nandi in a Garbhānka should hint at the plot only and not having Bīja and other things as is the case with a full-fledged drama. He imposes some other restrictions also on the features of Garbhānka which are not to be found in the definition of the technique given by Visvanātha. These are: there shall not be any Arthopaksepaka or Cūlikā in it. The number of dramatis personae in it shall be restricted to three or four only and not more than that. matter, to be precise, the plot of the Garbhānka, must be connected only with the thing sought for and not to anything else and the episodes there must be dwelt upon with brevity. It shall not consist of anything in detail and shall contain only what is relevant to the extreme. It will be decorated at the end by the anka in which it is situated. All the dramatis personae presented in the Garbhānka should exit when the dramatist winds it up. Then again it should never be presented in the very first Act of a

^{16.} ankaprasangād garbhānka-lakṣaṇam vakṣyate mayā |
rasa-nāyaka-vastūnām mahotkārṣāya kovidoḥ ||
ankasya madhye yo 'nkaḥ syād ayam garbhānka īritaḥ |
vastusūcakanāndīko dinmātrāmukha-sangataḥ ||
arthopakṣepakair hīnaś cūlikā parivarjitaiḥ |
anveṣya-vastuviṣayaḥ pātrais tricaturair yutaḥ ||
nātiprapañcetivṛttaḥ svādhārānkūnta-śobhitaḥ |
prastutārthānubandhī ca pātra-niṣkramaṇāvadhiḥ ||
prathamānke na kartavyaḥ so 'yam kāvga-viṣāradaiḥ |
So'yam Uttararāme tu rasotkarṣāya kathyatām ||
netur utkarṣako jñeyo Bālarāmāyaṇe tv ayam |
Amogharāghave so 'yam vastūtkarṣaikakāraṇam ||
(Rasārṇavasudhākara,
op. cit., III. 206-211.)

drama. According to Śingabhupala the Garbhānka found in the Uttararāmacarita is an example of that kind of this technique in which it has contributed to the excellence of rasa. The Garbhānka in the Bālarāmāyaṇa on the other hand has contributed to the excellence of the hero while in the Amogha-rāghava it has added to the charm of the plot.

Rūpagosvāmin closely follows the footsteps of S'ingabhūpāla and instead of cancealing the fact he has boldly declared that he has discarded the Sahityadarpana because the latter contains matters at variance with the Natyasastra and that he adheres faithfully the Natyasastra and the Rasarnava-sudhakara.17 There are ample reasons to believe that Rupagosvāmin is not able to discard the Sahitya-darpana totally in his treatise and he has adopted some of the views of Vis'vanatha presumably through inadvertance or necessity but we are not concerned with that aspect of the Natakacandrika here. Rupagosvamin's definition of Garbhānka is almost a replica of that given by S'ingabhūpālā.18 Though it is wellnigh a reproduction of the definition of Garbhanka found in the Rasarnava-sudhakara, yet there are two They are: according to Rupagosvāmin the things to note. number of dramatis personae in a Garbhānkā may be extended up to five or six and he cites an illustration of this technique in the fourth Act of his own Lalita-mādhava. This is however, quite

- 17. nātīva sangatatvāt 'Bharata-muner' mata-virodhāc ca /
 'Sāhityadarpanīyā' na grhitā prakriyā prāyaḥ//

 vīkṣya Bharata-muni-śāstram, 'Rasapūrva-sudhākaram ca ramanīyam/
 lakṣaṇam ati-sankṣepād vilikhyate nāṭakasy edam//
 (Nāṭaka-candrikā, op. cit., introductory verses)
- 18. aṅka-prasaṅgād Garbhāṅka-lakṣaṇam vakṣyate mayā/
 aṅkasya madhye yo' ṅkaḥ syād asau Garbhāṅka iritaḥ//
 vastu-sūcaka-nāndiko diṅmātrāmukha-saṅgataḥ/
 arthopakṣepak ir hino yutaḥ pātrais tu pañcaṣaiḥ//
 anveṣyad-vastuviṣayaḥ svādhārāṅkānta-śobhitaḥ/
 nātiprapañcetivṛttaḥ prastutārthānubandhakaḥ//
 prathamāṅke na kartavyaḥ so 'yam kāvya-viśāradaiḥ/
 caturthe'ṅke tu Garbhāṅko yathā 'Lalita-mādhave'//
 (Nāṭaka-caṇḍrikā, op. cit.)

in keeping with the mannerism of that great Vaisnava dramatist. Because the main object of his work was to cater to the needs of the Vaisnava sect in particular it is in the fitness of things that he does not pick up his illustrations from any profane work of classical literature.

Now, in the three definitions of $Garbh\bar{a}nka$ cited above three gradual stages of development are clearly discernible:

- (i) The first definition may be regarded as the first stage because in it the Garbhānka is defined in a general way and it appears that the author is not in a position to give us any distinct idea about its nature. He gives us only some vague outlines.
- (ii) In the second definition we find the second stage which is more advanced than the first. Here we have a clear cut idea about the nature of the dramatic device *Garbhānka*; also this is a more pervasive definition.
- (iii) The third definition seems to represent the third stage of development. In this stage we see that all the salient features of this device have been established in conformity with the convention of the dramatic practice prevalent in those days and only minor adjustments are being made.

Thus we see that while Vis'vanatha is hesitant to extend the scope of his definition to include the *Uttararāmacarita* within its fold, S'ingabhūpāla not only includes Bhavabhūti's drama in his definition but also extends it to embrace the *Amogharāghava* in which this device is employed for enhancing the excellence of the plot.

It is also very interesting to note that chronologically too Viśvanātha comes first and S'ingabhūpāla follows him while Rūpagosvāmin came in the field after a long gap.

THE DRAMATIC TECHNIQUE 'GARBHANKA'

Now, let us turn to the practice of the ancient stage. A drama within a drama is a novel thing indeed but this idea did not occur to the ancient dramatists till the beginning of the seventh century of the Christian era when S'rīharşa came in the field. Śrīharşa's Priyadarsikā is perhaps the first drama in Sanskrit which shows in its third Act a device closely akin to what is known as Garbhānka,19 Āranyakā takes the role of Vāsavadattā and Manoramā the role of the king in order to perform the drama Udayanacaritam according to a plan in the love-intrigue; but this cannot be called a Garbhānka proper in so far as the main requisites of Garbhanka, viz, Rangadvara, Amukha etc. are wanting here. This Act is designated as 'Garbhanā taka' in the colophon and not as Garbhānka, obviously because the term Garbhānka had not come into vogue at that time. Keith,20 however, prefers to call it an embryonic drama by which term he means a drama within a drama.

We are not sure if Bhavabhuti took up his clue from the drama of Śrīharṣa but what he presents in the seventh Act of his *Uttararāmacarita* cannot but be a *Garbhānka* of the theorists. Although there is no *Pūrvaranga* in it, yet there is actually an *Amukha* and other requisites of the *Garbhānka* and the sub-drama proper. But the term *Garbhānka* is conspicuous by its absence there, presumably because the term was unknown to him.

It is in Rājasekhara's Bālarāmāyaṇa that we not only meet with a Garbhānka proper but also the name to indicate it.²¹ There are all the requisites of a Garbhānka there including Pūrvaraṅga and Āmukha but still it must be pointed but that there is no Sūtradhāra in it and the name Kohala is presented instead. It seems that Rājasekhara, a staunch follower of Bhavabhūti, perfected this technique taking his clue from the latter. The form presented by Rājasekhara seems to be the only acceptable form of this device to

^{19.} Priyadaršikā, ed. Jivananda Vidyasagara, Calcutta, 1874.

^{20.} Sanskrit Drama, op. cit.

^{21.} Bālarāmāyana, ed. Jivananda Vidyasagara, Calcutta, 1884.

Viśvanātha while Śingabhūpāla thinks it fit to recognize the form presented by Bhavabhuti also. Amogharāghava, the other drama named by S'ingabhūpāla, is lost to us. So we are not in a position to know the nature of the Garbhānka present in it.

In the Fourth Act of the Lalitamādhava²² we have an instance of Garbhānka in which we have both the Sūtradhāra and the Naṭī, Pūrvaranga, Prarocanā verse, Āmukha, etc.—all that is needed for a Garbhānka, and the colophon there reads "Iti Śrīśrī-Lalitamādhavanāṭake Rādhābhisārākhya-Garbhānka-garbho nāma caturtho'nkaḥ."

The next instance of this device is available in the Jānakī-parinaya²³ of Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita, a writer of the seventeenth century.
The writer of this drama closely follows the track laid down by
Bhababhūti and Rājas'ekhara.

It is a fact that this device is unknown to Bharata. Daśarū-paka does not recognize it. Sāgaranandin and Vidyānātha do not recognize it. Nāṭyadarpaṇa does not mention this term. S'āra-dātanaya, the author of the Bhāvaprakāśana, was intimately associated with Divākara, the owner of a theatre hall and had as such first-hand knowledge of the theatre and the drama of his time, but he too does dot mention the term Garbhānka.²¹ What do all these facts lead us to?

What is probable is, that, the idea of presenting a sub-drama or Garbhānka first occurred to S'rīharṣa in the early part of the seventh century and Bhavabhūti developed it. It reached its perfection in the hands of Rājes'ekhara and later on Rūpagosvāmin and recently Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita followed the track.

Now came the turn of the theorists. In the latter half of the thirteenth century Vis'vanātha took it into his head that this device should have its recognition in dramaturgy. He was, however, very cautious in defining it and he is perfectly justified in doing so

^{22.} Lalitamadhava, ed Puridasa, Maimansingh, 1947.

^{23.} Jānaki parinaya, ed. Laksmaņasūci, Tanjore, 1905.

^{24.} Nātyašālā-patih kašcid Divākara iti dvijah etc. (Bhāvaprakāšana, op. cit., Introductory portion.)

THE DRAMATIC TECHNIQUE 'GARBHĀNKA'

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for he is the pioneer in this matter. S'ingabhupāla, on the other hand, had the advantage of having the authority of Vis'vanātha in extending his recognition to this device. He also was not satisfied with the rather vague definition of Viśvanātha. So he made an attempt to make his definition perfect which was later on slightly amended by Rūpagosvāmin.

S'ingabhūpāla has rightly observed that this device adds excellence to the drama either by enhancing the charm of the sentiment, the hero or the plot. In the instances of this device referred to above we see that its proper handling really contributes Dramatic Surprise which is so essential for a drama. It, therefore, becomes clear that though it was not recognized by Bharata, still the later theorists could not but extend their recognition to this device.

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SOME FURTHER LIGHT ON TAILANGA VRAJANĀTHA

By

E. V. V. Raghavacharya, Hyderabad, (A. P.)

Some years ago Sri N. A. Gore published two interesting papers' on the Sanskrit poet Vrajanatha and the Padyataranging, an anthology compiled by him, which has not so farseen the light of day. Vrajanatha was one of the well-known Sanskrit poets of his age who had left his native province (Andhradesa) and won laurels at the Darbars of North Indian rulers, like Jagannātha Panditarāja, scholars of S'esam family and Kavikalānidhi Krsnakavi, author of the historical Mahākāvya, Isvara-vilāsa. Even in modern times, we know of two celebrated Sanskrit scholar-poets who were originally natives of Andhra but had won reputation at the well-known centres of Sanskrit learning in North India, viz the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Manavalli Gangādhara Sastrī (1854-1914 A.D.) of Banaras and Kaviśiromani S'rī Bhatta Mathurānātha Śāstrī of Jaipur. Vrajanātha (who called himself Tailanga) was, like the above writers, originally an Andhra and had adorned the Darbar of the Mahārāja of Jaipur (in Rājasthan). As such it is proposed in this paper to bring to light some more details about this poet, his identity and works.

Vrajanātha, the compiler of the *Padyatarangin* (P.T.), seems to be identical with Tailanga Vrajanātha, author of *Manodūta* or *Sahṛdaya-hṛdayāhlādanam* and a commentary thereon called

Fit outstands

^{1. (}a) Prof. N. A. Gore: "Two versions of Padyamrta-tarangin?"—in 'Dr. Kunhan Raja Presentation Volume', pp. 423-'27 (1946) Madras.

⁽b) Prof. N. A. Gore: The Pandyatarangini of Vrajanätha-An Analysis and an Index'—The Poona Orientalist, Vol. XI. Nos. 1-2, pp. 45-56. (Jan. & April, 1948).

^{2.} Kāvyamālā, Part XIII, pp. 84-130. Nirņayasāgar Press, Bombaya (2nd, Edition, 1916)

Mañjubhāṣiṇī. From the Puṣpikā² or colophon to the Manodūta we learn that the poet belonged to the Pañcanada family, was the son of S'rī Rāmakṛṣṇa and son's son of S'rī Bhūdhara Bhaṭṭa of the Tailaṅga family. The poet has added three verses at the end of the commentary giving some personal details like the date of the composition of the poem, his patron, etc., of which the following verse contains the date of the poem: Vikrama era 1814=A.D. 1758.

वेदेन्दुवसुशीतांशु (1814) मितेऽब्दे मार्गशिषके । सिताष्टम्यामिदं काव्यमर्पितं हरिपादयोः ॥

The next two verses' pertain to Lord Haridatta, the poet's patron. The poet pays very high compliments to Haridatta who is stated to be a distinguished person (नराणां घोरेयः), the crest-jewel among the scholars of the age (सकलविद्धषां शेखरमणिः) and the repository of all arts (कलानां सर्नासां सदनस्). Lord Haridatta (इरिदत्तः प्रमुः) was his benefactor in several ways and it was due to his inspiration that the poem was composed. अमुः in verse 2 (line 4) need not necessarily mean a 'king', but it is just a term of respect.

Manodūta, p. 130

^{3. &#}x27;'इति श्रीमत्तेलङ्गान्वय-श्रीभूधरभद्दात्मज - श्रीरामकृष्णतनयपञ्चनदान्वय - व्रज्ञनाथ विरचितं मनोद्ताभिधं सहदयहृदयाहादनापरनामधेयं काव्यं स्वकृत-मञ्जुभाषिण्या टीकया समेतं समाप्तम् ॥

^{4. (}a) नराणां धौरेयः सकलिवदुषां शेखरमणिर्वद(न्यानामश्रेसर इह महाभाग्यसुभगः ।
कलानां सर्वासां सदनमितसौजन्यलितः
गुणानामागारो जयित हरिदत्तः प्रभुरसौ॥

⁽b) तदीयाया निष्कारणशुभदयायाः परिणमत्-प्रकृष्टोदकीया जगित विदितः पात्रमिह यः। ततो योगक्षेमावधिगतवतस्तस्य च कवेः कृतिर्विद्वद्वन्यान् सुखयतु द्याल्न् मिय जडे॥

FURTHER LIGHT ON TAILANGA VRAJANĀTHA 61

I identifiy Haridatta with Haridatta extolled by S'yāmasundara Laṭṭu in his Mādhavasimhāryā-Śataka⁵ (= Devavilāsāryā-śataka) while describing the literary luminaries at the court of Savai Jaising or Jayasimha II (Rule: 1699-1744), the Mahārāja of Jaipur (Rājasthān) and that of his son, Mahārāja Mādhavasimha II. The date of this Śataka is A.D. 1755 (Śaka 1677). The following were the men of letters that had graced the court of Jaipur.

1. Gangārāmasūri (=	Father of Rāmes'varasūri - No. 6 below)
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	off the design that the state of	(v. 122)	
2.	Gopīnātha	(v. 124)	
3.	Haridatta Haridatta	(v. 128)	
4.	Kevala Rāma Pancānana Jyotişarāya	(v. 129)	n + mirror
5.	Ravidatta S'armā	(v. 131)	
6.	Rāmeśvara Sūri (= son of Gangā-rār	nasūri-No.	1. above
		(v. 123)	
7.	S'ankaradatta	(v. 132)	12 12
8.	Sadāśiva, son of Gadādhara	(v. 130)	
9.	Sudhākara Śarmā (Pandit and poet)	(v. 126)	
10.	Viśvanātha	(v. 124)	
11.	VRAJANĀTHA	(v. 125)	
12.	Yamunākara Śarmā	(v. 127)	

I am inclined to identify Vrajanātha of the above list with Tailanga Vrajanātha (or Vrajanātha II), the author of Manodūta (with the commentary Manjubhāṣinī); and Haridatta with Haridatta, the patron of Tailanga Vrajanātha.

Now we have to solve another problem regarding the identification of Vrajanātha. There were two savants called Vrajanātha, at the court of Mahārāja Mādhavasimha of Jaipur:

(1) The poet Vrajanātha, the author of Manodūta with a scholium thereon and the compiler of the Padyataranginī.

6. जयित श्रीव्रजनाथ: कविरिह सततं व्रजाधीशे।

सुकलितद्दतरभिक्तिजयपुरनगरे पुराधीशे ॥ (verse 125)

(Vide—M. M. Patkar's paper, p. 36)

M. M. Patkar's paper on Syāma Sundara Lattu's Mādhavasimhāryā Sataka, composed in Saka 1677, 1755 A.D., published in the Poona Orientalist, Vol. I. No. 4, pp. 33-37 (Jan. 1937).

(2) Vrajanātha, the son of Prabhākara (= the younger brother of the Rgvedic scholar, Ratnākara, the guru of Rājādhirāja Savai Jayasing (= Jayasimha II).

The following details about Vrajanātha are available from the *Isvara-vilāsa-mahākāvya*⁷ a historical poem composed by Kavikalānidhi Kṛṣṇa Kavi, by the order of Is'varasing the elder son of Savai Jaising, (about 1744 A.D.).

Vrajanātha was the most honoured among the galaxy of eminent scholars and poets at the royal court. He was the son of Prabhākara, the younger brother of Ratnākara, the Guru of Mahārāja Savai Jaising. Vrajanātha and his younger brother, Gokulanātha were always by the side of Savai Jaising, expounding to him the meaning of the Śāstras. Vrajanātha was the wisest and the most erudite among the galaxy of the Pandits at the Darbar. He was consequently very much respected and he used to expound the Śāstras to the Mahārāja almost without a break. The Mahārāja entrusting the administration of the state to his son, Isvarasing, used to spend all his time in the company of the learned, listening to the Śāstras, attending to devotional duties and acting according to Dharma⁸. It is to be noted that this Vrajanātha though the

-(Iśvara-vilāsa-Kāvya, X. 5-10)

Rājasthāna Purātana Granthamālā, No. 29, Rājasthāna Oriental Research Institute, Jaipur (1958).

^{8.} धुरन्थरे राज्यधुरां समस्तं पुत्रे निधायेश्वरसिंहनान्नि ।
कमान्निवृत्ताखिलभोगनृष्णः कृष्णाद्वयप्रेमभरं बभार ॥
विधाय सम्यक्षुकृतात्मकानि कार्याणि विज्ञातपरात्मतत्त्वः ।
गोविन्ददेवस्य पदारविन्दे प्रेमाणमेकान्तमनन्यमृहे ॥
तस्याखिले पण्डितराजचके मान्यो गुरुश्रानृष्ठतोऽतिविद्वान् ।
श्रीपौण्डरीकाध्वरयाजकोऽभून्नित्यं समीपे व्रजनाथशर्मा ॥
ऋग्वेदिवित्रप्रवरावतंसो रत्नाकरो नाम गुरुनृत्य ।
प्रभाकरो नाम बभूव तस्य श्राता सदा यो मथुरैकवासी ॥
तदात्मजः श्रीवजनाथनामा, तथापरो गोकुलनाथ उक्तः ।
तौ श्रातरौ सिन्निहितौ नृगस्य निरन्तरं शास्त्रकथा दधाते ॥
प्राज्ञोत्तमश्रीवजनाथवक्त्र-विनिर्गतां शास्त्रकथामजस्यम् ।
श्रण्वन् स विद्वत्समुदायमध्ये धर्मेण कालं सकलं निनाय ॥

FURTHER LIGHT ON TAILANGA VRAJANATHA 63

most erudite of the scholars of the court (प्राज्ञोत्तम) and a lucid expositor of the $S\bar{a}$ stras, was nowhere stated to be a poet.

Dr. P. K. Gode thus identifies this Vrajanātha with the compiler of the *Padyataranginī*:

"After the tragic death of Isvarasing, Vrajanātha appears to have transferred his loyalty and attachment from Savai Jaising to his other son Madhosingh as evidenced by the composition of the work, Padyataranginī referred to above which was definitely composed to please his new patron."

With due deference to Dr. Gode I beg to differ from him on this point. Vrajanātha, son of Prabhākara, though an eminent scholar, was nowhere referred to as a poet. He was the most respected among the scholars of the court of Jaising and thus appears to be a senior contemporary of the poet Vrajanātha (or Vrajanātha II) of the court of Mādhavasimha. There is no evidence at all for stating that Vrajanātha I (son of Prabhākara) was a poet who has composed the poem Manodūta with a gloss thereon called Mañjubhāṣinā and compiled the Padyataranginā, an anthology of Subhāṣitas with a commentary called Anyokti-padyabhāvaprakāsa, on the tenth chapter consisting of Anyoktis 10. There is another circumstance to support the above contention. In the following verse from the introductory portion to his commentary called Mañjubhāṣinā, he requests the scholars to excuse him for his audacity in composing a commentary on his own poem:

भूयो भूय: प्रणम्याह याचे बद्धाञ्जलिब्धान्। बालभाषितमित्येव क्षमध्वं चापल मम ॥ (verse 4)11

^{9.} Dr. P. K. Gode's Studies in Indian Literary History, Vol. II, p 297 (1954).

^{10.} गुरुचरणसरोजद्वन्द्वमाधाय चित्ते किमिष तदनुकम्पालब्धबुद्धिप्रभावः ।
इह मुललितभव्यान्योक्तिपद्यानि सम्यक् परिकलितरहस्यान्यर्थतः सूचयामि ॥
इति पद्यतरिक्वण्याम् अन्योक्तिपद्य-भावप्रकाशो वजनाथकृतः समाप्तः ॥

Dr. Gode: Des. Cata. of the Govt. Collections of Mss.—Vol. XIII, Part II. p. 2, Poona (1022)

^{11.} Manodūta (p. 84, Introductory verses to the Manjubhāṣinī commentary thereon).

In the concluding verse of his commentary he again writes thus in the same strain:

तस्य च कवे:—
कृतिर्विद्वद्वन्द्यान् सुखयतु दयाऌ्न् मिय जडे। (verse 3)¹²
—(Vide foot-note 4 b above).

He once again resorts to the same strain in one of the concluding verses at the end of his gloss on the 10th chapter of the Padyatarangin.

"तत्तुष्ट्ये व्रजनायेन रम्या पद्यतरिक्षणी । निवद्धा शोधनीयेयं सद्भिः सारानुरागिभिः" ॥ (verse 36)

The cumulative result of these three references is the conclusion that Vrajanātha (or Vrajanātha I), the son of Prabhākara, is altogether different from Vrajanātha II, the son of Rāmakṛṣṇa, though both Vrajanāthas flourished at the Jaipur Darbar.

One poet Vrajanātha is stated to have revised and edited a work called Vaidika-Vaiṣṇava-Sadācāra of Harikṛṣṇa Mis'ra, the judge (or Prāḍvivāka) at the court of Savai Jayasimha. Prof. P. K. Gode assignes this work to the period between 1713-1744 A.D. I am inclined to identify this editor, Vrajanātha, with Vrajanātha II or Tailanga Vrajanātha, the author of Manodūta, etc., who was of a Vaiṣṇavite religious persuasion, being a Vallabhaite. Tailanga Vrajanātha (= Vrajanātha II) appears to have adorned the courts of both Savai Jayasiṇha (rule 1699-1744) and his son Mādhavasiṇha (1744-1761 A.D.).

Manodūta is a Dūta-kāvya in 202 verses in Śikhariņī metre. The date of composition is A.D. 1758.¹⁵

- "The poem describes the devout reflections of Draupadi on Kṛṣṇa during the scene of her outrage at Duryodhana's court. The
- 12. Ibid p. 130.
- 13. Dr. Gode's 'Studies in Indian Literary History', vol. II, p. 293 (1954).
- 14. Date of Vaidika-Vaiṣṇava-Sadācāra of Harikṛṣṇa Miśra (1713-1744 A. D.)

 Journal of the Bombay University-vol. VI. part 6, pp. 80-86. (1938).
- 15. वेदेन्दुवसुशीतांगु (1814)—मितेऽच्दे मार्गशीर्षके । सिताष्टम्यामिदं काव्यमर्पितं हरिपादयो: ॥

FURTHER LIGHT ON TAILANGA VRAJANĀTHA 65

poem closes with the description of the endless expansion of Draupadī's apparel and the consequent disgrace to the Kaurava princes. The plan of the poem was undoubtedly suggested by the Meghadūta, but it is no bare imitation of Kālidāsa's work, nor is it written in the same metre. The ideas are fanciful and appealing, but the style is not so amusing as Kālidāsa's." The Padyataranginī is in two recensions, shorter and longer, with 10 and 12 Tarangas respectively. The total number of verses according to the shorter recension is 479. Omission of the names of the works or writers at the end of the verses considerably lessens the literary or historical value of the anthology. The work was composed on Sunday, Ekādas'ī, in the month of Pauṣa of the year 1809 which corresponds to 14th January, 1753 A.D.¹⁷

The results of the paper may be thus summarised for ready reference:

- (1) 1755—Date of Śyāmasundara Lattu's Mādhavasinhāryā Śataka, composed at the court of Mādhavasimha. It praised Vrajanātha of the same court and Haridatta, his 'friend, philosopher and guide', probably the court-Pandit of Jaipur.
 - (2) 14th Jan. 1733—Date of Vrajanātha's Padyatarangiņī.
 - (3) 1758—Date of Tailanga Vrajanātha's Manodūta.
- (4) Vrajanātha I (son of Prabhākara) was at the court of Savai Jaising and appears to be a senior contemporary of Vrajanātha II (or Tailanga Vrajanātha, son of Rāmakṛṣṇa) of the court of

(Dr. Gode's S. I. L. H. - Vol. II p. 293, footnote ?)

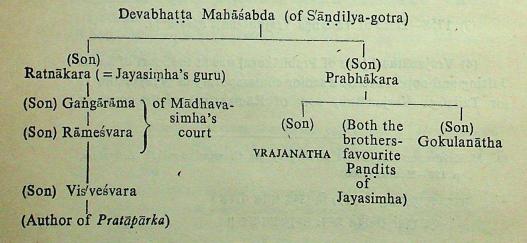
M. Krishnamacharya: A History of the Classical Sanskrit Literature, p. 123—Madras (1906)

^{17.} नन्दाब्दवसुशीतांशु (1809) मितेऽब्दे मासि पौषके । एकादश्यां रविदिने प्रन्यः सम्पूर्णतामगात् ॥

Mādhavasimha. Vrajanātha II was the author of Manodūta with a commentary thereon.

- (5) Vrajanātha I was only a scholar, while Vrajanātha II was both a scholar and a poet. The former is nowhere stated to be a poet.
- (6) Vrajanātha II was the author of a poem with a commentary thereon and the compiler of an anthology.
- (7) Vrajanātha II's regard towards scholars and his humility is in the same strain at the beginning and conclusion of his commentary on the *Manodūta* and at the end of his commentary on chapter 10 of the *Padayataranginī*.
- (8) The poet Vrajanātha who revised and edited the Vaidika-Vaiṣṇava-sadācāra of Harikṛṣṇa, seems, in all probability, to be identical with Tailanga Vrajanātha (or Vrajanātha II).

The Genealogy of Vrajanatha I



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- 4. 'Aśvamedha performed by Savai Jayasing of Amber (1699-1744 A.D.)'. By Prof. P. K. Gode, P.O., Vol. II, No. 3 (Oct. 1937) pp. 166-180. (Reprinted in pp. 292-306 of Vol. II of Dr. P. K. Gode's Studies in Indian Literary History, Bombay, 1954).
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SECTION V: PALI AND BUDDHISM

President: DR. V. V. GOKHALE

- 1. A Critique of the antitheistic position of the Buddhist Gopikamohan Bhattacharya
- Fresh light on the history of the Saila schools of Buddhism Ajay Mitra Shastri
- 3. Bhūmis in Mahāyāna Buddhism Dr. Anukul Chandra Banerjee
- 4. A Comparative study of the Amanasikārādhāra Suniti Kumar Pathak
- Ācārasangrahaṭīkā of Jayarakṣita Sanghasena

A CRITIQUE OF THE ANTITHEISTIC POSITION OF THE BUDDHIST

By

Gopikamohan Bhattacharya, Calcutta

The Buddhist denies the existence of God because no such God is amenable to our perceptive knowledge. In other words, existence of God is directly barred by non-perception. According to the Buddhist, inference of a postive entity is twofold. In the first place, we can infer a positive entity with the help of a probans which is itself an effect of the probandum (kāryalingaka). Secondly, inference of a positive entity may be possible with the aid of a reason which is identical in essence with the probandum (svabhāva-hetu). Thus the former is illustrated when the knowledge of smoke leads to the knowledge of fire and the latter when the oak has the essential attribute of a tree. In the case of negative inference one has to depend upon the non-cognition (anupalabdhi) of the negatum. Thus in the case under consideration the Buddhist argues that in view of the fact that God is not perceived by us its non-existence has to be asserted.

Here the Naiyāyika joins issue with the Buddhist and opines that mere non-perception does not guarantee the non-existence of an entity, but that non-perception of an object fit for perception (yogyānupalabdhi) leads to the knowledge of its non-existence. Negation is intelligible only when it is understood with reference to a negatum (pratiyogin) which is fit for being comprehended (yogya). Thus we can say, "There is no jar on the table", for the simple reason that the negatum, i.e. a jar, if it were existent could be comprehended by perception. And since it is not perceived it does not exist. This is the reductio ad absurdum (tarka) which the Naiyāyika applies. But this reductio ad absurdum cannot be applied in the case of God. As God is not amenable to perception, its non-existence can never be proved through non-cognition.

But the Buddhist does not yeild ground. In his opinion the explanation offered by the Naiyāyika is bound to create anomalies. The rabbit's horn or a square circle is not fit for preception and as such it is difficult, if not impossible, to prove its nonexistence with the aid of non-perception. Thus if negation of the rabbit's horn or square circle is sought to be established, mere non-perception should have a status of logical ground leading to the cognition of negation of an entity. Thus the Buddhist hurls the following dilemma at the Naiyayika. If mere absence is held to be the certitude of negation, non-existence of God will be automatically established. If, on the other hand, negation is considered to be the absence of a knowable fact, that is to say, if the absence of an object fit for perception is said to lead to the knowledge of its negation, it will be impossible to deny that the rabbit's horn exists. The Buddhist thinks that the Naiyavika cannot escape from the clutches of this dilemma and he will have no other alternative but to accept the position that mere nonperception of the negatum is the guarantee of its unreality. In the circumstance the Naiyayika will be constrained to admit the unreality of God from its non-perception.

However much the Buddhist may be sure of the strength of his reasoning and indulge in self-complacency with regard to the weakness in the position of the opponent, the latter does not yeild ground so easily but argues in the following manner: Mere non-cognition cannot lead to the knowledge of non-existence. Non-cognition can yeild the judgment of non-existence only when it is non-cognition of a perceptible object (yogyanupalabdhi). If the Buddhist does not accept the position of the Naiyāyika he will have to deny the existence of all infra-sensible entities on the ground of non-cognition. But in fact the Buddhist admits the existence of such supersensuous entities as ether (ākāśa), atoms (pudgala) etc. Thus the Buddhist cannot regard mere non-cognition as the determinant of the knowledge of its non-existence. And as God, according to the Nyāya-Vais'eşika, is imperceptible, we cannot judge His non-existence from the fact that He is not precived. The position may be made clear through an illustration: When a jar is not perceived on the ground, the Naiyayika would

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argue: 'Had there been a jar, it would have been seen. This points to the fact that competency or appropriatenes (vogyatā) is the essential factor in determining the non-existence of an object on the basis of non-perception. Such fictions as the rabbit's horn or a square circle etc. are not at all existent and as such the reductio ad absurdum, viz., 'if the rabbit's horn were existent it would have been perceived' does not apply.

The opponent may here retort that if the Nyāya view is accepted, it would not be possible to determine the non-existence of such fictions, as they are not fit for perception. But it is observed in reply that the opponent is misled when he says that the rabbit's horn is negated. We should have a clear conception regarding the negatum (pratyogin). What is understood here is the absence of horn in the rabbit. The absent object is not the rabbit's horn but horn itself, the existence of which is negated in the rabbit, or absence of the relation of horn with the rabbit (sasīyatva). Now in the present case horn is a perceptible entity in other animals such as cow, buffaloe etc. Thus the judgment, 'There is no rabbit's horn' should be explained as 'there is no horn in the rabbit' or the absence of the relation of rabbit with the horn, and hence there will be no difficulty in determining the absence of a fiction.

It would however be an interesting study to discuss the status of non-cognition (anupalabdhi) in determining non-existence of an object. According to the Naiyāyika, non-existence is amenable to perception but unlike the Bhāṭṭa and the Vedāntin, the Naiyāyika does not regard non-cognition as an independent means of cognition. Non-cognition merely facilitates (sahakārin) the competent sense-organ in determining the non-existence of an object. Thus when there is no jar on the ground it is the visual organ that, being assisted by appropriate negation (vogyānupalabdhi), determines the absence of the jar on the ground.

The Bhāṭṭa school of Mīmāmsakas opines that negation cannot be perceptible. Unlike the Prābhākara and the Sāmkhyich he does not think that non-existence is nothing but the castence

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of bare locus (adhiṣṭhāna-svarūpa). When we say, 'there is no jar on the ground', what we mean thereby, according to the Prābhā-kara, is nothing but the bare ground. But the Bhāṭṭa and following him the Advaitin also do not think that non-existence can be perceived as adjectival to the locus for the simple reason that it is not understood how the sense-organ being something existent is related to what is non-existent. It is a fact of common experience that relation partakes between two positive entities. The Naiyāyika, however, asserts that the relation of absence to the locus is 'adjectivity' (viśeṣaṇatā). Here the Bhāṭṭa contends that such adjectival relation (viśeṣaṇatā) is indirect, i.e. to say, it depends upon some other relation apart from itself.

To be precise:—Thus in the judgment 'The book is on the table', the 'book' is adjectival (visesana) to the locus, viz. table, by being related to it through contact (samyoga). The adjectival relation in this case, therefore, presupposes a primary relationship, viz., conjunction between 'the book' and 'the table'. Let us take another illustration too: The universal is related as an adjective to the individual which is the substantive. But we all know that there is the relation of inhernce between the two. It is this inherence which makes it possible for the universal standing as an adjunct to the individual, the substantive. But it may be pointed out that no such relationship exists between the absence of the book and the table. It is therefore that we can hardly think of the absence of the book as related as an adjunct to the table. Thus visescnata cannot be a relation on its own account. When two objects are related through contact or through inherence, one of then is called adjective visesana and the other is substantive (visesya). But in the case of the supposed relation between the absence of jar and the locus, viz., ground, no such intervening relation is seen to exist. A negation and the respective locus cannot be said to be related through contact as the relation of contact holds between two substances only. Neither can it be said that negation and its locus are related through inherence. Thus in the absence of any mediating relation negation can never be related to the locus. And as in the case under consideration adjectivity (visesanatā) cannot be said to be

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determined by a mediating relation. The perceptive organ cannot be related to negation through the relation of contact-cum-adjectivity (samyuktaviseṣaṇatā). And as viseṣaṇatā undermined by any relation is a fiction, the Bhāṭṭas have made out that negation cannot be apprehended by a sense-organ. The Bhāṭṭa admits non-apprehension (anupalabdhi) aided by competency (yogyatā) as an independent source of knowledge. The Bhāṭṭa and the Vedāntin hold that abhāva cannot be apprehended by perception. But it is surprising that Dharmarājādhvarīndra, who owes his allegiance to the monistic school of Vedānta, says in so many words that the apprehension of abhāva is a perceptual knowledge even admitting that the instrument for perceptual knowledge of negation is not pratyakṣa but anupalabdhi.

It should be noted that like the Bhāṭṭa the followers of the Advaita Vedānta do not believe in direct perception of abhāva. It is, therefore, a very well-known fact that in monistic Vedānta neiscience (ajñāna) has not been described as a negative concept, i.e. negation of knowledge (jñānābhāva) but a positive entity which is directly perceived. Had ajñāna been recognised as mere jñānābhāva it would have been difficult for them to explain how it is directly perceived.

Udayana next examines the argument by which the Buddhist seeks to infer that God is not the creator of the universe. According to the Buddhist, God is as much a fiction as the rabbit's horn. If that is so, the subject-of-the-inference (pakṣa) happens to be not a reality but a fiction pure and simple. And as such the inference is vitated by the fallacy of unreality of the subject (pakṣāsiddhi). Therefore, absence of agenthood in respect of God, which is a fiction, cannot be inferred.

The Buddhist however may continue to say that though God is a fiction yet it may appear as a reality at times. The Buddhist as an advocate of asatkhyūtivāda (mistaking a non-existent as an existent) points out that in the case of an error a fiction appears as a reality. Thus when an oyster is mistaken for a piece of silver, the silver in the context is a fiction pure and simple but you

it makes its appearance and is felt as such. Likewise, in the case under review, though God is a veritable fiction yet at times of inference it may very well appear as the subject of which negation of agenthood is predicated. Hence the Buddhist refuses to admit the charge of unreality of the subject (pakṣāsiddhi) levelled against him by the Naiyāyika. The Buddhist, therefore, concludes by saying that whatever unreal is presented as real through misapprehension does not exist, as for example, such fictions as rabbit's horn or sky-lotus. God is presented through this misapprehension (asatkhyātyupanīta) and therefore it does not exist.

Thus the Madhyamika school of Buddhist Philosophy advocates the theory of asatkhyāti, according to which illusion is nothing but the apprehension of a non-existent object. Thus the Madhyamika admits that the non-existent object is at times fit to be perceived. The Madhyamika would here argue that God though non-existent (as held by the antitheists) is fit to become the object of apprehension i.e. in error). Thus God, being fit to be cognised, may stand as the subject of the inference of the antitheist who seeks to negate the existence of God. Furthermore, the advocate of asatkhyāti asserts the possibility of proving the non-existence of unreal fiction (alīka-pratiyogikābhāva). And hence though God is admitted as unreal fiction, negation in the form 'God does not exist' may be predicable. When the absence of agency (kartrtvābhava) is predicated of God he becomes the substratum (anuvogin) on which the non-existence of agency is cognised. And if on the other hand, we say 'God does not exist', then God becomes the object of negation (pratinogin). Thus the Madhyamika opines that the negation of God may be intelligible from two aspects.

Let us now to see how the Naiyāyika succeeds in over-throwing the Buddhist position.

As it has been pointed out before, the Mādhyamika says that God happens to be both the anuyogin and the pratiyogin of egation. Now Udayana opines that no fiction or unsubstantial datum on be looked upon as the anuyogin. Serviceability being

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the sine qua non of a substratum, a fiction cannot be treated as the anuyogin of negation. Whatever happens to be the substratum cannot be unreal. It is only a real thing which, in the fitness of things, can act as the locus. If the character of real is admitted in the case of an unreal the latter loses its individuality.

Udayana denies also the possibility of a fiction being a pratiyogin, for whenever a negation is known and interpreted, it is invariably determined by a negatum (pratiyogin). Thus when we perceive a negation of jar on the ground, the negatum, viz. the jar, must be a real and existent fact. Now, how are we to explain the character of the negatum (pratinogita)? What is negated is the pratyogin of a negation. Udayana says that it would appear on a careful analysis that the character of negatum is nothing but the negation of non-existence. Whenever we comprehend a negation we always comprehend and express it through the medium of the appellation of its negatum. Negation of non-existence of jar is of the nature of jar. Now this negation of non-existence subsists in the jar and this is what is exactly meant by pratiyogita, the character of negation. In illusory experience of silver in a shell, the silver as such is a real entity. Whenever the knowledge of silver is contradicted by another sublating cognition of shell, what is sublated is not the reality of silver but the "wrong spatiotemporal relation".

So far we have discussed that in the perception of negation, both the negation and the negatum appear as the content of knowledge. And whatever is known (jñeya) is capable of being known to be real. According to Nyāya-Vais'esika knowability (jñeyatva) and verifiability (prameyatva) of knowledge are universal subsistents (kevalānvayin). The Naiyāyika believes that everything on earth is knowable and verifiable and as such when it is said that at the time of comprehension of negation both negation and negatum are comprehended, it stands to reason to admit that both these elements are verifiable. That being so, it comes to this that the negatum when admitted to be knowable must also be verifiable. But the Buddhist, as we have seen, says that Graf

though admitted to be the negatum of its non-existence, does not regard him as verifiable, a position which, in the opinion of the Naiyāyika, is quite untenable. What is not verifiable cannot be the negatum. And if God happens to be the negatum, which the Buddhist also does not hesitate to accept, he must be a verifiable entity. This clinches the issue in favour of the Naiyāyika.

FRESH LIGHT ON THE HISTORY OF THE SAILA SCHOOLS OF BUDDHISM

(BASED ON INSCRIPTIONS)

Bv

Ajay Mitra Shastri, Nagpur

The dissentient tendencies, which were already present in the Sangha in their rudimentary form, became stronger after Buddha's death. The second Buddhist Council held at Vaiśālī during the reign of Kālāśoka (c. 100 A.B.) to give its verdict on the Ten points (dasavatthūni)¹ practised by the Vaiśālian monks, resulted in the division of the order into a number of schools, two of which, the Theravāda and the Mahāsanghika, were the most important.² Besides, some sub-schools, most of which derived their names from the places of their origin, are said to have originated afterwards. They are: (i) Hemavata, (ii) Rājagiriya, (iii) Siddhatthaka, (iv) Pubhaseliya, (v) Aparaseliya, and (vi) Vājiriya³. It is proposed in this paper to deal beiefly with the early history of the Saila schools on the basis of epigraphs and to shed new light wherever possible.

- तदा वेसालिया भिक्ख् अनेके विजयुत्तका।
 सिंगिलोणं द्वंगुलं च तथा गामन्दरं पि च॥
 आवासानुमताचिण्णं अमथितं जलोगि च।
 निसीदनं अदसकं जातरूपादिकं इति॥
 दसवत्थूनि दीपेंसुं कप्पन्तीति अलज्जिनो।
- 2. तेहि संगीतिकारेहि थेरेहि दुतियेहि ते। निग्गहीता पापभिक्ख सब्बे दससहस्सका॥
- हमवता राजगिरिया तथा सिद्धत्थका पि च। पुज्बसेलियभिक्ख् च तथा अपरसेलिया॥ वाजिरिया च एते पि जम्बदीपम्हि भिन्नका।

अकंसाचरियवादं ते महासंघिकनामकं।

(Ibid, V, 3-4)

(Mahāvamsa, IV, 9-11)

(Ibid 7, 12-13)

The Pūrva and the Aparaseliyas were the two offshoots of the Chaityakas⁴. These schools are mentioned in a large number of epigraphic records of the early centuries of the Christian era.

An inscription of the time of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumavi aims at recording the erection of a Dharmachakradhvaja at the eastern gate of the Mahāvihāra of Dhanakada (modern Dharaṇikoṭa) which was in the possession of the Buddhists of the Pūrvaśaila school. Mention of the monks belonging to this sect is also made in an Allūru Ins. of the same period, the last line of which reads: Ariyāna Puvaseliyāna nigāyasa (for the acceptance of the monks belonging to the Pūrvaśaila school). In the Nāgārjunikoṇḍā second Apsidal temple Inscription mention is made of Puvasela as a place-name. Kānherī Cave Inscription of the Sātavāhana period, accordig to Mr. Moreshwar G. Dikshit, records the excavation of a cave and a water-cistern as the meritorious gift for the community of the Aparaśaila monks of the four quarters' residing in that locality.

Nagārjunikondā Inscriptions of the Ikṣvākus (c. 2nd-3rd centuries A.D.) abound in references to the Saila Schools. Ins. No. C. 1 records the completion of a Mahachaitya by one Ananda, well-versed in the Dīgha and the Majjhimanikāyas and a disciple of

(IHQ., XVIII, p. 60 ff., Luders No. 1020)

^{4. 2500} Years of Buddhism, p. 118. Burgess observes, we do not know on what grounds, that the chaitika school was otherwise called the school of the Pūrvaśailas (The Buddhist Stūpas of Amarāvati and Jagayyapeta, pp. 24, 101.)

हैं.अत पोरेन धनकडस महाविहारे पुवदारे पविज्ञतान भिखुसघस पुव-सेलियान निगायस परिगहे धमचकधेयो पदिठापितो सवलोकसत्विहतसुखाय । (EI. XXIV, p. 259)

^{6.} ASI, 1923-24, p. 93

^{7.} EI, XX. p. 22

हिमं उपासकस धेनुकाकिटियस कुलिपियस धमनकस धुतुय पवइतिकाय समयथेरान भदतबोधिकान पानकान अतेवासिनिय लेण देयधम पानियपोढि च सह भगिनिय रितिकिनाय सह च सबैन जित सबिधवगेन चतुदिसे भिखसधे अठसु अपरसेलेस पितठिपित मतिथितु......।

the āchāryas of the Ariyahangha (Skr. Ārya-Sangha), for the benefit of the Aparamahāvinaseliyas, in the 6th regnal year of the Ikshvāku king Siri-Virapurisadata (Sanskrit S'rī-Vīrapurushadatta)⁹. The Āyaka-Pillar Ins. C. 2 refers to the erection of a stone pillar at the Mahāchaitya by the Mahādevī Bapasirinikā, the daughter of Hammasirimnikā, the uterine sister of Mahārāja Vāsiṭhīputa Ikhāku Siri-Chātamūla, etc., the wife of King Siri-Virapurisadata, for the acceptance of the Apara Māhāvinaseliya sect.¹⁰ The First Apsidal Temple Ins. E also aims at recording a pious foundation in favour of the achāryas belonging to the Aparamahāvinaseliya sect in the 18th regnal year of Vīrapurushadatta.¹¹

Origin of the Saila Schools

In the Pali tradition the Pubba and the Aparaseliyas are mentioned as two sub-divisions of the Mahāsanghikas which originated after the second century B.E. Along with other local sects, these two schools also appear to have been so-called after the place of their origin. It is supported by the testimony of Yuan Chwang.¹² He says: "In the country T'O-na-kie-Tse-Kia¹³ (Dhanakataka) there are numerous convents, mostly deserted and ruined. There are in those preserved about 10,000 or so priests. They all study the Law of Great Vehicle (Mahayana). To the east of the capital of Dhanakataka bordering on a mountain is a convent called the Pūrvasaila 'and' to the west of the city leaning against a mountain is a convent called Avarasaila." On this basis J. Ph. Vogel opines that it were these two monasteries where the two schools flourished. He observes: "Can it be that the two sects, known as Pubba and Aparaseliva originated from the two Buddhist convents of Pūrvašaila and Aparašaila....?

^{9.} EI, XX, p. 17

^{10.} Ibid, pp. 19-20

^{11.} Ibid, pp. 21-22

^{12.} Beal, Si-yu-ki, pp. 10-11

^{13.} Cunningham (ASR., II, p. 41) transliterates the Chinese name as Dhenukākata, but Dhankaṭaka seems a more probable Sanskrit rendering. It is referred to in its Pāli form in two Amaravati Inscriptions. (ASWI, IV. p. 24)

^{14.} EI, XX, pp. 10-11

has been rightly accepted by almost all scholars. He further suggests that the Avaraseliya of the Mahāvamsa seems to be an abbreviated form of Aparamahāvanaseliya of Inscriptions.

Inscriptions throw entirely new light on the origin of the Saila schools. An Amaravati Ins. records the establishment of a chief pavilion (Padhāna-mandapa) as a meritorious gift to the Sangna, of the merchant Kanda, a perfumer (gandhika), the son of merchant Dhammila, from Sagharu....., the disciple of the pure teacher Sāriputa, who was a Mahāvanasaliya Āchārya.15 Hultzsch, however, renders 'Mahavanasaliyana' as one 'who lives in the hall in the great forest'.16 But as the expression 'Mahāvanasaliyāna Sāriputāna' is preceded by the word 'Achariyāna', which is exclusively used to denote a school, the translation of Hultzsch is untenable. This inscription, on the other hand, most probably supplies a clue to understand how the Saila Schools originated. It appears that the region round modern Dharanikota was called Mahāvanas'aila, where the Mahāsanghikas, due to the local differences, would have formed a new sect, which was probably known as Mahāvanasaliya or Mahāvanasaila after the place of its origin. A little later when they began to live separately in the two monasteries of Pūrvasaila and Aparasaila, they were distinguished from each other by the name of their convents. It is supported by another epigraph from Amaravati, which mentions a Pimdapātika, who resided in the mountain-forest (and not in the hall in the great forest as Hultzsch renders it) (Mahavanasalavathavasa).17 If this interpretation is correct, the inscriptions, thus, furnish very valuable information which is missing in the extant Buddhist literature regarding the origin of the Saila schools.

¹⁵ सिघं नमो भगवतो अचरियान महवनसिलयान सारिपुतान अमलान सिसिद्दस सधरूगहपुजाकंडस धंमिलवानिगपुतस गधिकस पानियस...भस सिप्तुकस समातुकम सभरिपकस सभतुकस स...सपुतकस सधुतुकस सधास सनतुकस सनितिमित्बंधवस सघ देयधंमै पथानमंडवो पतिठिवतो।

⁽Jas. Burgess, Notes on Amararati Stupa, 1882, p. 52, Luder's No. 1230; Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jagayyapeta, p. 105)

^{16.} Notes on Amaravati Stupa, p. 52.

^{17.} Ibid., p. 55.

Dr. W. Geiger, in his translation of the *Mahāvamsa*, renders *Pubba* and *Apara* as 'first' and 'other' respectively, which is untenable being against what Yuan Chwang says.

From the contents of the epigraphic records which we have just described, it appears that the Saila School was much favoured by the monks residing in the Kṛishṇā region round about Dharanikota. With the shifting of the Sātavāhana capital from Dhenukākaṭa to Pratishṭhāna, it is probable that many of the followers of these schools migrated from Dharanikota to Western Indian caves. Thus the sects flourished in Western India under the Sātavāhanas. They also succeeded in securing patronage from the queens of the Ikshvāku family of Vāsishṭhīputra S'rī-S'āntamūla and his son and successor Vāsishṭhīputra Ehuvula-Chātamula. In fact they owed their flourishing condition to the piety and prosperity of the region during the second and third centuries A. D.

The S'aila schools along with the Rājagirikas and the Siddhat-thakas are collectively mentioned as Andhakas in the Kathāvat-thuppakaraṇa. From what Buddhaghosha states in his commentary on the Kathāvatthu Mrs. Rhys Davids infers that the Mahāsanghikas were not really existing in his time. But he speaks of the Andhakas as existing in his time. To reconcile the statements of Yuan Chwang and Buddhaghosha it may be justifiably concluded that the sub-divisions of the Mahāsanghikas came to be known as Andhakas because of their prolonged residence in the Andhra region. And as these sects had no vital doctrinal differences, they probably disappeared by the time of Yuan Chwang (seventh century A. D.) and they were again known as the Mahāsanghikas.

^{18.} Mahāvamsa (Trans.), p. 27.

^{19.} Rhys Davids, Points of Controversy, Introduction.

^{20.} Ibid., p. XXXIV.

^{21.} Cf. "The inference that can be drawn from these statements is that either the Mahāsanghikas came to be called by their prolonged residence in the Andhra country as the Andhakas or the four sects that issued out of the Mahāsanghikas were, by their residence on the hills of the Andhra country, called the Andhakas. To reconcile the statements of Yuan Chwang, we say that the Mahāsanghikas residing within the Andhra country were known as the Andhakas." (N. Dutt, IHQ., VII, p. 649).

Points of Doctrine

One of the very interesting features of Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunikondā Ins. is that they mention a few points relating to the doctrines of the sects which prevailed there. What information we get from these records regarding the nature of the Buddha as conceived by the Mahāsanghikas, we have seen elsewhere. As a consequence of his or her gifts and other pious acts the donor expects merit, which he or she may transfer (parināmetunam) to his or her relatives or friends. Thus in the Nāgārjunikondā second Apsidal Temple Ins. F, an Upāsikā caused a chaitya hall to be constructed to secure religious merit for her father, mother, brother, sister and other relatives. This same feature is to be found in the contemporary records hailing from North-Western India. It is not recognized in Pāli works where the maxim is: "attadīpa attasarana".

Another doctrinal aspect to which inscriptions point is regarding Nirvāṇa. The pious gifts are expected to produce happiness in this world and the next (ubhayalokasukhāvahathanāya) for the donor's relatives and friends and the wealth of Nirvāṇa for the donor alone (attano ca nirvāṇa-sampatti-sampādake).²⁴ It indicates that the school to which the donor belonged, conceived the Nirvāṇa as 'a positive faultless state.' The Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa refers to two controversies in regard to the conception of Nirvāṇa as prevailing among the Andhakas. The Puvaseliyas held the Āmatapada or the Nirvāṇa as an object of thought of a person not yet free from bondage.²⁵ Other Andhaka schools regarded Nibbānadhātu as good (Kusala),²⁶ a doctrine hardly acceptable to the Theravādins, who speak of realising Nibbāna within one's own

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^{22.} See my paper 'अमरावती-नागार्जुनकोण्डा अभिलेख तथा बौद्धधर्म in कल्पना (Hyderabad), June, 1959, pp. 86—94.

^{23.} EI., XX. p. 22.

^{24.} Ayaka Pillar Ins. C 3, First Apsidal Temple Ins. F. etc., (EI., XX)

^{25.} Rhys Davids, Points of Controversy, p. 231 f.

^{26.} Ibid., p. 339

self (pachhatlam veditabbo viñnuhi). The inscriptions thus indicate that the donor belonged to some Andhaka school other than the Pūrvas'aila.

Literature

According to the Dipavamsa Vajjian monks did not stop after they were out-voted by the majority of the Second Council, and they held a seperate Council called Mahāsangīti where different redactions of the canonical works were compiled. tradition finds support from the Nagarjunikonda and Amaravati inscriptions. Passages like 'Dīgha-majjhima-nikāya-dharasa' (Āyaka Pillar Ins., c 1),27 'Dīghamajjhima-pancha-mātuka-osaka-vāchakānam' (Ibid), 'Dīghamajjhima-panda-mātuka-desakānam', and 'Dīghamamgayadharena' (Ayaka Pillar Ins., c 2)28 often occur in connection with the monks belonging to the Saila schools in the Nagarjunikonda Ins. of the third century A.D. The Dīgha and the Majjhima are the two wellknown parts of the Suttapitaka. Mātuā, a corruption of Sanskrit Mātrikā or Pāli Mātikā, according to the Pāli texts, is identical with the Abhidhamma. Dr. N. Dutt quotes some passages from the Vinaya texts where Mātikā means the Pātimokkhasutta as well as Vinaya precepts, omitting all the explanations and other details. Thus, the word Mātukā of the Nāgārjunikondā Inscriptions may denote the Abhidhamma and the Vinaya.29 Now the Vinayapitaka is generally divided into four or five parts, viz., (1) Pātimokkha, (2) Vibhanga, (3) Khandakas, and (4) Parivāra; or (1) Pārājika, (2) Pāchittiya, (3) Mahāvagga, (4) Chullavagga, and (5) Parivāra. The latter division is more common. According to the Chinese tradition the Vinaya of the Mahasanghikas also consisted of five divisions. 30 Thus, the word 'pancha-mātukā' may mean either the Vinava having five divisions or the Abhidhamma.

From the above discussion it is apparent that in the third century A.D. the S'ailas had their own redactions of the Vinaya, the

^{27.} Ibid., p. 19

^{28.} EI., XX, p. 17

^{29.} IHQ., VII, pp 643-4

^{30.} Ibid., pp. 644-5

Abhidhamma, and the Nikāyas of which the Dīgha and the Majjhima are mentioned by name. This inference is also supported by the Chinese travellers Fa-hien and Yuan Chwang, who refer to the scriptures of the Mahāsanghikas.

To sum up, during the Sātavāhana and Ikshvāku period Nāgārjunikondā, Amarāvatī and several other places in the south were the strongholds of the Śaila schools. Inscriptions help us to arrive at an entirely new conclusion regarding their origin. The opinion that they were called the Pūrvas'aila and the Aparas'aila after the two monasteries of their name, is based on Yuan Chwang's testimony. Epigraphic records, while supplementing Yuan Chwang's statement, further inform us that there was a school known as the Mahāvanas'aila from which the two Śaila schools, called the Pūrvamahāvanas'aila and the Aparamahāvanas'aila originated. The Ceylonese tradition and the statements of Fa-hien and Yuan Chwang that the Mahāsanghikas framed their own redaction of the canonical Buddhist texts also find ample support from epigraphic evidence.

BHUMIS IN MAHAYANA BUDDHISM

By

Dr. Anukul Chandra Banerjee, Calcutta

The doctrine of bhūmis (stages of spiritual progress) is one of the special characteristics which distinguish Mahāyāna from the Hīnayāna. The word bhūmi literally means 'earth', 'ground', 'soil', but it is used here in the sense of 'stage' or 'career'. Bhūmis are thus stages of spiritual progress for the attainment of perfect knowledge. According to the Mahāvastu each existence of bodhisattvas is briefly assumed to be an earth, whence its designation as bhūmi. But the Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra states that the bhūmis are so called because beings enter into higher and higher immeasurable stages repeatedly. They are also known as bhūmis, as they deliver infinite beings from fear. In the Abhidhamma, bhūmi is employed in the sense of magga (path).

The Hinayana recognises four stages of spiritual progress sotāpatti, sakadāgāmi, anāgāmi and arahatta—against ten of the Mahāyāna. The ten bhūmis are further divided into two groups in regard to the motions of the truth. The first group, containing the first six bhūmis, leads to the realisation of pudgalasūnyatā (nonexistence of self) and thus corresponds to the four stages of progress of Hinayana, while the second, comprising the last four, to the comprehension of dharmasūnyatā (non-existence of everything) which is beyond the reach of the Hinayana. The conception of bhūmis is thus an outcome both of Hīna and Mahā Yāna The first six satisfy the spiritual craving of the speculations. Hīnayānists while the last four that of the Mahayānists. The scheme of a bodhisattya's career is conceived on that of the career of an adherent of Hinayana. The last four are the real contribution made by the Mahayana in this regard.

Mahāyāna enjoins that one must produce bodhicitta (thought of enlightenment) before he commences his practice in connection with the first bhūmi, while Hīnayāna demands that one must realise

^{1.} Rhys Davids, Buddhist Psychology, p. 82

the four noble truths and have firm faith in the teachings of the Buddha to enable him to enter upon the stream of sanctification (sotāpatti).

With the thought of bodhi (enlightenment) starts the career of a bodhisattva. It is the initial stage towards the attainment of the highest knowledge and there are several stages through which a bodhisattva must pass before he attains perfection. The entire career of a bodhisattva, as we have seen, is divided into ten such stages, viz. (i) Pramuditā, (ii) Vimatā, (iii) Prabhākarī, (iv) Arcismatī, (v) Sudurjayā, (vi) Abhimukhī, (vii) Dūrangamā, (viii) Acalā, (ix) Sādhumatī and (x) Dharmameghā.²

Here is given a short account of each one of the above bhūmis.

- (i) Pramuditā is the first stage (bhūmi) in the career of a bodhisattva. A bodhisattva enters this bhūmi (stage) just after the production of the thought of enlightenment (bodhicitta). The Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra³ states that this bhūmi is so called because a bodhisttva rejoices exceedingly as he perceives that he will shortly attain bodhi (enlightenment) and will do good to all beings. A bodhisattva is now above an ordinary being and is liberated from rebirths in being and is liberated from rebirths in the purgatory or any other inferior form of existence. According to the Mahāvastu¹ a bodhisattva is enjoined to practise liberality (tyāga), compassion (karuṇā), indefatigability (aparikheda), humility (amāna) and such other virtues in this first bhūmi.
 - (ii) Vimatā. With the cultivation of the ten cittāsayas⁵ (mental dispositions) starts the second bhūmi. In the
- According to the Mahāvastu (Vol. I, p. 76) the names of the bhūmis are: Durārohā, Baddhamānā, Puṣpamaṇḍitā, Rucirā, Cittavistarā, Rūpavatī, Durjayā, Janmanirdeśa, Yauvarājya and Abhiṣeka.
- 3. p. 181.
- 4. Vol. I, p. 78
- 5. They are: rju, mrdu, karmanya, dama, śama, kalyāna, asamsrṣṭa, anapekṣa, udāra and māhātmya.

Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra it is stated that this bhūmi is so called because a bodhisattva overcomes the stain of immoral conduct as also of the other yāna (Hīnayāna). In this bhūmi a bodhisattva takes the vow to purify all beings. According to the Mahāvastu⁶ a bodhisattva in the second bhūmi develops an aversion to all forms of existence.

- Prabhākarī. With the development of these ten cittāsayas (mental dispositions), viz. pure (suddha), steady (sthira), disgusted (nirvid), dispassionate (aviraga), firm (avinivrta), strong (drdha), ardent (uttapta), tellio and insatiate (atrpta), sublime (udara) and magnanimous (māhātmya) commence the third bhūmi. The Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra tell us that this bhūmi is so called because a bodhisattva diffuses the lustre of the noble doctrine to all beings. A bodhisattva in this bhumi realises that all compound things are impermanent, transient and momentary. They are sources of mainfold sufferings only. In the Mahāvastus it is stated that a bodhisattva in the third bhūmi pays special attention to tyāga (renunciation) and is prepared to purchase a verse of a good saying at the sacrifice of the wife and child. This bhūmi offers a parallel to the anagami stage of Hinayana.9
- (iv) Arcismatī. With the insight into the ten dharmālokas¹⁰ (lights of the element of existence) a bodhisattva rises to this bhūmi. The Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra¹¹

^{6.} Vol. I, p. 85

^{7.} p. 182

^{8.} Vol. I, p. 91

^{9.} N. Dutt, Aspects of Mahayana and its relation to Hinayana, p. 269.

^{10.} They are: Sattvadhātu, lokadhātu, dharmadhātu, ākāśadhātu, vijnānadhātu, kāmadhātu, rūpadhātu, arūpadhātu, udārādhyāśayādhimuktidhātu, and māhātmayādhyāśayādhimuktidhātu.

^{11.} p. 182

¹²

states that this bhūmi is so called because the rays of the bodhipakṣīyadharmas consume both klesāvaraṇa (the obstacle of lust) and jneyāvaraṇa (hindrance to knowledge). In this bhūmi all evil passions and ignorance are done away with. A bodhisattva practises here the ten qualities with mature knowledge and does things that lead to enlightenment. In the Mahāvastu¹² are enumerated a few immoral practices which a bodhisattva avoids in the fourth bhūmi.

- (v) Sudurjayā. With the development of the ten-fold purity and uniformity of dispositions (cittasayavisuddhi-samatā), viz., doctrines of the past, future and present Buddhas, morality, meditation, doubts, speculations, right path, bodhipaksiyadharmas and perfection of all beings, a bodhisattva rises to the fifth bhūmi. The Mahayanasūtralamkara13 tells us that this bhūmi is so called because a bodhisattva performs the arduous task of ripening beings as also i di "nimuni controlling his own mind. A bodhisattva in this blain mars bhumi practises the thirtyseven bodhipaksīyadharmas and understands the four noble truths. He also comprehends the two kinds of truth, samortisatya (conventional truth) and paramarthasatya (transcendental truth.)
- (vi) Abhimukhī. A bodhisattva rises to this bhūmi through the ten-fold sameness of things. The Mahāyāna-sūtrālamkāra states that this bhūmi is so called because a bodhisattva through the perfection of wisdom (prajnāpāramitā) turns towards both samsāra (transmigration) and nirvāṇa. He is freed from the

^{12.} Vol. I. pp. 101-102

^{13.} P. 182

^{14.} They are animitta, alakṣaṇa, anutpāda, ajāta, vivikta, ādiviśuddha, niṣprapañca, anāyūha-niryūha, māyāsvapnapratibhāsapratiśrut-kopama, and bhāvābhāvādvaya.

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conceptions of 'I' and 'mine', 'doer' and 'feeler' and the like. He is now perfectly pure and steady.

- (vii) Dūrangamā. From this bhūmi start the real Mahā-yānic stages of progress. The Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra¹⁵ states that this bhūmi is so called because it leads to the attainment of the only path, viz. the discipline. He practises all the ten pāramitās¹⁶ (perfections), the four samgrahavastus (elements of popularity), the four adhiṣṭhānas¹⁷ (resolutions) and the thirtyseven bodhipakṣīyadharmas. Under no circumstance does a bodhisattva go astrary from the path of righteousness. From the Mahāvatsu¹⁸ we learn that a bodhisattva in the seventh bhūmi practises self-control.
- (viii) Acalā. A bodhisattva in this bhūmi realises that things are by nature non-existing. Here he realises the highest knowledge called anutpattikadharmakṣānti. The Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra¹³ states that this bhūmi is so called because a bodhisattva is not moved by the notions of cause and non-cause. He is not defiled by any actions of body, speech and mind. He knows everything in its minutest detail. There is no retrogression from this bhūmi and it may be the reason why this bhūmi is called Acalā (immovable). Nothing particular is given of the eighth bhūmi in the Mahūvastu.
 - (ix) Sādhumatī. A bodhisattva in this bhūmi comprehends the true nature of all dharmas. The Mahāyāna-

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^{15.} P. 182

^{16.} They are: dāna, šīla, kṣānti, vīrya, dhyāna, prajňā, upāya, praṇidhāna, bala and jňāna.

^{17.} Prajñā, satya, tyāga and upašama.

^{18.} Vol. I, pp. 127, 136

^{19.} P. 182

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sūtrālamkāra states that this bhūmi is so called because in this a bodhisattva attains a thorough knowledge of analysis. He understands the minds of all beings in this bhūmi and also knows the methods of conversion. He becomes a great preacher and preaches the doctrine in mainfold ways to the beings of all lokadhātus. The Mahāvastu gives no details of the ninth bhūmi.

(x) Dharmameghā. With this bhūmi closes the career of a bodhisattva. The Mahayanasutralamkara20 states that this bhūmi is so called because it is permeated with meditation and magic spells like the sky covered with clouds. As he acquires all the virtues, he now gains the knowledge of omniscience (sarvajnajnāna). A celestial lotus adorned with jewels appears and the bodhisattva sits on it with his effulgent body. Through his proficiency in mindfulness (smrtikausalya) he bears in mind all the clouds of dharma showered on him by the Buddhas, and hence is the designation Dharmameghā. From the Śatasāhasrikāprajnāpāramita21 we learn that the bodhisattva in the tenth bhūmi is called a Tathāgata. The Mahāvastu23 furnishes us with nothing particular about the tenth bhūmi.

The account of the *bhūmis* given above presents us with an idea of the gradation in the spiritual life of a bodhisattva. It gives us further an idea of an ideal life to be pursued in Mahā-yāna. The transition from one stage to the next takes place according to the progress made by a bodhisattva in respect of his virtues.

^{20.} P. 183

^{21.} P. 1458

^{22,} Vol. I, p, 142

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE AMANASIKĀRĀDHĀRA OF ADVAYAVAJRA

(From Sanskrit and Tibetan materials)

By

Suniti Kumar Pathak, Dalhausie Hills, Punjab

The text Amanasikārādhāra (Tib. "yid la mi byed pa shes bya ba" from the Bstan 'gyur collection) is ascribed to Advayavajrapāda Avadhūti, an Indian Tāntrika Siddhācārya of the 10th-11th cent. A. D. The Sanskrit original is, fortunately, edited and published by Mm. H. P. Sastri from mss. found in Nepal.

Mm. Sastri admits in the introduction to his edition of the Advayavajra-samgraha¹ that the readings of the manuscripts from which he has edited the collection "are in many cases so hopelessly corrupt that nothing can be made out of them". Here, in this article, an attempt is made to study comparatively the Sanskrit original with Tibetan version and to emend the reading after making necessary variations and critical notes.

As regards the title of the text, the Sanskrit version mentions amanasikārādhāra, whereas, the Tibetan 'lo-tsa-bas' translitered amanasikāra-udāra. But the Tibetan translation of the title 'yid la mi byed pa shes bya ba' suggests amanasikāra-nāma. It does not read the later portion of the title either adhāra or udāra. And, the Tibeten colophon gives the name as amanasikāra-desita-nairātmya-prakāsa ('yid la mi byed pa ston ba bdag med pa gsal ba').

The authorship of this text is attributed to Advayavajra who is mentioned by Tārānātha as the comtemporary of king Mahīpāla of the Pāla Dynasty of Bengal, of Atīs'a Dīpamkara and of Nāropā. The Tibetan Dhar chag² of the 'Snar than' edition of the Bstan 'gyur considers that Advayavajra was identical with Maitri-pā, who is said to be an Indian teacher of Mar pa lo-tsa-ba of Tibet. It may be said that Advayavajra or Avadhūtipa, as Dr. B. Bhattacharya³ states, flourished in the 11th cent. A. D.

^{1.} Gaekwad's Oriental Series, 1927.

^{2.} Dkar chag, Bstan 'gyur collection, folio 128.

^{3.} Sādhanamālā, II, Introduction, p. xci,

From the mention in the colophon the names of the translators are Vajrapāṇi (Indian Pandit) and Gnen chun (Lo tsa ba) who probably translated the Sanskrit original into Tibetan in the 12th cent. A. D. as the Dpag bsam ljon bzan states. But Mm. Sastri refers to the names of S'rījnāna of Dhāra and Śākyaprabha, as the Indian Paṇḍita and the Tibetan collaborator. The source from which Mm. Sastri refers to the above names is not known. Cordier in his catalogue of the Bstan 'gyur collection mentions also the name of Buṇya ('bsod nams').

As the title of the work suggests, the text discusses the problems of the meaning and uses of the term 'amanasikāra' from grammatical and Buddhist philosophical outlook. The term 'mansikāra' and its antonym 'amanasikāra' are frequently used in Buddhist literature and philosophy.6 Advayavajra also refers to a few uses of the term found in Tantrik and Mahayanasutra literature. Literally the term 'amanasikara', means negation of 'manasikāra', i.e., fixing one's attention, or, pondering over a thought (such as, over 'Nirvana' or 'sunyata'). It may be mentioned, in this connection, that the phrases yonigu manasikāra (proper attention, having a thorough method in one's thought), and, contrarily, ayonisu man manasikara (disorderly distracted attention) are commonly used in the Buddhist literature. But Advayavajra does not pay much attention to all these popular connotations of the terms 'manasikāra' and 'amanasikāra'. He considers that 'amanasikāra' does not mean the negation of 'mansikāra', when Mahāyānasūtras like Ārya-sarva-buddhavişayavatarajnanolkalankara mentions that amanasikara dharmah kusalāh (the dharmas which are 'amanasikāras' are pure), whereas,

Blue Annals, I (Asiatic Society, Calcutta), Roerich, pp. 395-96, mentions, an Indian Vajrapāņi, who was an eminent scholar, and was other than Phyag na of Tibet.

Gnen chun refers probably to Gnan chun ras pa (see Blue Annals, II. 453).

^{6.} See Buddhist Hybrid Dictionary by Edgerton, p. 418.

^{7.} Bka gyur, (Japanese Catalogue, No. 100), Mdo-sde.

manasikārā dharmā akusalāḥ (the dharmas which are 'manasikāras' are not pure). Also, Advayavajra refers to some passages from some other Mahāyāna sūtras to confirm his interpretation. The pūrvapakṣa of Advayavajra (the opponents who do not agree with our author's interpretation) may deny all these references as they are not acceptable to the Tāntrik usage of the terms Manasikāra etc. Advayavajra, therefore, quotes some passages from the Tantrik texts: bhāvyate hi jagat sarvaṃ manasā (yato) na bhāvyate ('the world would be pondered over as it is beyond of all thoughts'). According to Advayavajra 'amanasikāra' is that which does not refer to a negative approach, but affirms the highest possible thought or concentration (for 'Nirvāṇa' or 'Śunyatā'.)

Advayavajra then discusses grammatically the term 'amanasikāra' as an instance of nañ-arthaka compound denoting the sense of negation as prasajya-pratisedha or paryudāsa. He attempts to derive the term a-manasikūra not as a nanarthaka compound (in the sense of negation), but to expound the term in the affirmative sense as an instance of karmadhāraya or dvanda compound. Thus he argues that if the term 'amanasikara' is compounded as a nañ-tatpurusa in the sense of prasajya-pratisdha or paryudasa the sayings of the Buddha such as avikalpa-dhātur amanasikāra will be And, Buddha's saying sāsvatoccheda-laksano found erroneous. manasikāra is found by Advayavajra as a dubious reading, for it does not stand in favour of the Middle Path preached by Buddha. In this manner he rejects the use of nañ or the negative sense in the compound, and does not accept the formation of the compound in the sense of prasajya-pratisedha or paryudāsa.

Advayavajra, suggests his own interpretation by compounding 'a-manasikāra' as akārapradhāna manasikāra, i.e. 'manasikāra' (fixation of concentration) on the first of the vowels, viz. 'a'. According to Tantric interpretation 'akāra' is the foremost symbol of non-exixtence. So it means the pondering over existenceless-ness. Advayavajra further adds that 'a' means the application of concentration to the full extent of the nairātmya

^{8.} See Introduction to Tantric Buddhism, S. B. Das Gupta, pp. 100 ff.

bīja (seed of essencelessness) and that the compound means the application of concentration to the full extent of the nisvabhāva nairātmya (characterless essencelessness), which has been taught by Buddha himself in the Hevajra-Tantra. According to the author in the term 'a-manasikāra' 'a' is a prabhāsvara-pada (self-illuminating word) and, 'manasikāra' is a svādhiṣṭhāna-pada (self-existing word). Hence, the compound 'a-manasikāra' may be explained as as cāsau manasikāra' ceti (that which is 'a' as also 'manasikāra); and 'a-manasikāra' is a union of a prabhāsvara-pada and a svādhiṣṭhāna-pada beyond the limits of thoughts and ideas. Here, sūnyatā and karuṇā, according to the Vajrayāna principle, are conceived to be united completely after coinciding with each other in all respects in the manner of the yuganaddha type of Tāntric union.

It is now evident that Advayavajra as a Siddhācārya of the Vajrayāna sect gives a novel explanation of the term 'amanasikāra' which goes in favour of the Tāntrik conception of the highest union of sūnyatā with karuṇā, as the seed of characterless essencelessness.

The results of the comparative study of the Tibetan version of Amanasikārādhāra with its Sanskrit original is given as mentioned in the foot-notes of the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions edited below.

Some critical notes on some grammatical and Tantric terms occuring in this small treatise such as prasjya-pratisedha, paryudāsa, āli, svādhiṣṭhānapada, prabhāsvarapada, sūnyatā, karunā and Yuganaddha may be added here.

1. 'Prasajya-pratisedha and paryudasa'

Kumārila Bhaṭṭa in the Mimāmsā-vārttika mentions that in the case of nañ in the 'prasajya-pratiṣedha' sense, the vidhi is apradhāna (unimportant) and 'paryudāsa' (negative) is pradhāna (important), and, in case of nañ in 'paryudāsa' sense, the vidhi is pradhāna

^{9.} Bka gyur Rgyud (Japanese Catalogue, No. 417)

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(important) and the 'pratisedha' (negative) is apradhāna (unimportant):

pradhānatvam vidher yatra pratisedhe 'pradhānatā / paryudāsaḥ sa vijñeyo yatrottarapadena nañ // apradhānam vidher yatra pratisedhe 'pradhānatā / prasajyapratisedho 'sau kriyayā saha yatra nañ //

2. 'Ali'

In Tantric literature 'Ali' refers to the vowels beginning with 'a'. It is often considered as prajnā (knowledge). In the term 'a-manasikāra', 'a' means non-origination of all those which are imagined to be produced (akāro mukham sarvadharmānām anutpannatvāt). The Hevajra Tantra identifies nairātmya-bīja with āli. It is to be added that in Tibetan the vowels are generally named as 'āli'.

3. 'Svādhisthānapadam'

In Tantric esoteric practices Svadhisthanapadam is taken as the third stage of 'Sūnyata' as self-establishment or universalisation (affirmation of self) and it is considered as the secret of all yogas by the Pancakarma (See, Das Gupta's Introduction to Tantric Buddhism, p. 93).

4. Prabhāsvara-padam

In the Tantras 'Prabhasvarapadam' is conceived as the final stage of 'Śūnyatā' (mental equilibrium) such as sarvam sūnyam. It is described as the resplendent state of citta of a sādhaka.

5. 'Śūnyatā'

'Sūnyatā' is, according to Vajrayāna Buddhism, somewhat different from the conception of 's'ūnyatā' mentioned in Mahāyāna Buddhism. According to Yogācāra philosophy mentioned in the Lankāvatāra Sūtra¹o, sūnyatā is non-origination (anutpāda), non-existence (abhāva), non-duality (advaya), and, absence of self-nature (nissvabhāva); whereas, in the Mūlamādhyamika-kārikā¹¹ śūnyatā is the truth which is external to existence, non-existence, a combi-

^{10.} Lankāvatāra, Nanjio's ed., pp 73f.

^{11.} Mūlamādhyamaka Kārikā, (Levi's edn.) Chapt. XXV.

nation of the two, and the negation the two. Advayavajra refers to this conception of 's'ūnyatā' known as māyotpannādvayavāda which establishes the non-duality of non-existence. But he does not follow this doctrine because there is contradiction. Advayavajra supports the view of sarvadharma-pratiṣṭhānavāda which deliberates sarvadharmasūnyatā, i.e., sarvadharmānām anutpāda (non-origination of all phenomena). According to this theory, one who understands the non-existence or the non-origination of the world attains the knowledge of 'śūnyam' (vacuity) with the purification of Bodhi.

In the Tantras, the conception of Mahāyāna philosophical 'sūnyatā' is adopted in the sense of negation of the immanent one, or, affirmatively, the highest transcendent one; but the whole world (both phenomenal and nomenal) resolves into one idea of 's'ūnyatā'. And, śūnyatā, here, has four gradations: (1) 's'ūnya' (prajñā knowledge or āloka light). (2) 'atiśūnya' (manifestion of āloka, ālokābhāsa, i.e., upāya or caitasikaparikalpita). (3) 'Mahāśūnya' (ālokopalabdhi which proceeds from the union of prajñā and upāya i.e., intuition of light. It is of parinispanna (absolute) nature but avidyā (ignorance) still remains in this stage. Advayavajra describes it as svādhiṣṭhānapadam). (4) 'Sarvas'unyam' (perfect void, self illuminant or prabhāsvarapadam).

Sūnyam cātis'ūnyam ca mahāśūnyam tṛtīyakam || caturtham sarva-śūnyam ca phalahetuprabhedataḥ || Pañcakarma of Nāgārjunapāda

6. 'Karuņā'

Karuṇā, (great compassion), is an essential factor for the attainment of Bodhicitta in which 's'ūnyatā' and 'karuṇā' are interrelated. Advayavajra mentions that 'bodhi' which is to be attained is the total unification of s'ūnyatā and karuṇā: s'ūnyatā-karuṇābhinnam yadbodhau jñānam iṣyate). (Kudṛṣti-nirghātanam of Advayavajra); see also:

s'ūnyatākaruṇābhinnam yatra cittam prabhāv yate !
so hi buddhasya dharmasya sanghasyāpi hi deśanā ||
(Pañcākāra of Advayavajra)

'Karuṇā' is sometimes used as $up\bar{a}ya$ (expedience), and both the terms are conceived identical in the sense of dynamic activity. Advayavajra takes $praj\tilde{n}\bar{a}$ as a term identical with $up\bar{a}ya$. He quotes from the Aryavimalakritinirdesa:

" prajnarahita upayo bandhah, upayarahita prajna bandhah, prajnasahita upayo moksah, upayasahita prajna moksah."

The use of the term 'karuṇā' in the sense of upāya is found also in the writings of Nāgārjuna. According to the Śrāvakayāna it refers to sattvāvalambanakaruṇā (compassion for sentient beings), whereas in yogācāra dharmāvalambana (compassion for dharma) and, in the Mādhyamika philosophy karuṇā is the part of the nature of a bodhicitta. cf.:

Sūnyatā-karuṇābhinnam bodhicittam iti smṛtam /

7. 'Yuganaddha'

The synthesis, or rather the unification of all duality in an absolute unity, is the real principle of union which has been termed 'yuganaddha'. The principle of 'yuganaddha' is clearly explained in the fifth chapter of the Pañcakarma. The real principle of 'yuga-naddha' is the absence of the notion of duality as the perceivable (grāhya) and the perceiver (grāhaka) and their perfect synthesis in a unity of 'prajñā' and 'karuṇā'—the state of all void (sarvas'ūnyatā) through the union of 'prajñā' and 'upāya'. To realise through constant practice the truth of both 'svādhiṣṭhāna', the third state of 's'ūnyatā' as self-establishment or universalisation of the self), and 'prabhāsvara' (the fourth stage of 's'ūnyatā' as sarvaśūnyaṃ, resplendent), and then to unite them—this is 'yuganaddha'.

naihsvabhāvyād ajātatvam pratyayād aniruddhatā || bhāvābhāvāvato na sto yuganaddham tu bhāşate ||

śunyatak payor aikyam vidheyam na svakalpatah ! śunyatayah prakas'asya prak ptya yuganaddhata !!

॥ अमनसिकाराधारः ॥

नमो बुद्धाय।²

अमनसिकार इत्यत्र³ बह्वो विप्रतिपन्नाः। तत् कश्चिदाह—अपशब्दो-ऽयमिति। समासेऽ⁴मनस्कार इति भवितुमहिति। तत्रोच्यते, ''तत्पुरुषे कृति बहुल''मिति⁶ बहुलवचनात् सप्तम्या अलुगिति⁷ अलुक्समासे कृते अमनसिकारः अमनस्कारः। त्वक्सारः युधिष्ठिर [इति] एतानि रूपाणि सम्पद्यन्ते। अतो नायमपशब्दः [भवतीति]।।

भपर (आह-हन्त!) रुक्षणसाधितमेवेदं वचः, किं च असिद्धम्। तन्न, नानास्त्रान्तेषु इष्टत्वात् आर्य [-बुद्ध-] सर्वविषयावतारज्ञानारोकारंकार-महायानस्त्रे अभनसिकारा धर्माः कुशर्लाः। मनसिकारा धर्मा अकुशर्लाः इति ॥ तत्रैव—

अविकल्पितसंकल्प अप्रतिष्ठितमानस । अस्मृत्यमनसिकार निरालम्ब[ाय] न¹⁰मोऽस्तु ते ॥

तथा भविकल्पधारण्यां 11—बोधिसत्त्वो महासत्त्वो सर्वविकल्पनिमित्तानि [आभासगतिकानि] अमनसिकारतः परिवर्जयति ॥

- 1. Tib, xy omits adhara; Jap. Cata. mentions yid la mi byed pa ston pa,
- 2. Tib. suggests Srīvajrasattvāya namah.
- 3. Skt. itatra.
- 4. Skt. Samāse manaskāra; Tib. makes the sense clear.
- 5. Tib. Root rtog = to consider, Skt. Kalpa.
- 6. Pāņini 6.3.14.
- 7. Pānini 6.3.9.
- 8. Tib. adds redundantly, amanasikāra.
- 9. Skt. Sūtra-tantresu; Tib. suggests Sūtrāntesu.
- 9a. Bka' 'gyur Jap. Cat. No. 100.
- Acc. to Tib. construction 'la' suggests the sense of accusative; Skt.
 'te' is omitted.
- 11. Bka' 'gyur Jap. Cata. No. 142.
- Tib. Snān pa la rlogs pa (= ābhāsa-galikāni) whereas, Skt. ākāśa-galikāni.

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अपरापराणि अन्थविस्तरभयात् न लिख्यन्ते । इदानीमपर आह-सौत्रान्तिकमेवेदं वचः, [न तान्त्रिकं]। 13 [कुतो नाम] 14 स्त्रान्तेषु दृष्टत्वात्। तन्त्र। उक्तं हि हेवज्र (तन्त्रपटले) 15—स्वरूपेण न चित्रं नापि चेतसम्। तथा—

भाव्यन्ते हि नगत् सर्वे मनसा य[स्मा]न्न भाव्यते । अर्थात् अमनसिकारेणेति गम्यते ॥

अपर आह——तन्त्रेऽप्यस्ति । (पर)¹⁶प्रसज्यप्रतिषेघ-नञोऽविषयत्वात् अभावो वाच्यः ॥

तन्न । [सतो भावप्रतिषेधो हि प्रसज्यप्रतिषेधः।] 17 । यदि नाप्रसज्यं प्रतिसिध्यत इति प्रसज्यप्रतिषेधः । यथा,—असूर्यपश्चा राजदाराः । [अस्यार्थः] 18 एवं नाम [अस्फुटाः] 19 ता गुप्ता राजदाराः [या] 20 सूर्यमपि न पश्यन्तीति । अत्र [प्रतिषेधेन] 21 न सूर्यस्याभावः कृतः । किं नाम, राजदाराणां यत् सूर्यदर्शनं प्रसज्य तन्निषद्धम् । अमनसिकारेऽपि (नञो) 22 मनसि करणं यद्प्राह्यप्राह्मादि प्रसक्तं तन्निषद्धम् , न मनः, अतो न दोषः ॥ ।

^{13.} Tib. Shags kyi ma yin la suggests na tantrikam or na mantrikam, whereas Skt. nasantikam conveys no sense.

^{14.} Tib. ci'i phyir she nu.

^{15.} Bka' 'ygur, rgyud Jap. Cata. 417.

^{16.} Tib. omits para.

^{17.} Skt. prakrāntasya pratisedha; Tib. yid pa'i dnos po 'gog pa ni med par dgag pa'o makes the sense clear.

^{18.} Tib. 'di'i don te; Skt. ayamarthah.

^{19.} dy. illegible, prob. min zatů (?).

^{20.} Skt. yat.

^{21.} Tib. bgag pas.

^{22.} Tib. omits.

^{23.} Tib. yod pa.

यदा कश्चिदेवं वदति — शाश्वतोच्छेदलक्षणो मनसिकारः सम्मतो (भगवता)²⁴, तदोच्यते — शाश्वतोच्छेदादिः मनसिकारो वाऽमनसिकारः। एतेन सर्वाऽऽसंग²⁵हानिः क्रियते मनसिकारशब्देनेति॥

तथा चोक्तं भगवता अविकल्पघारण्यां²⁶—केन (कारणेन) कुलपुत्र ! अविकल्पघातुरमनसिकार इत्युच्यते । सर्वेविकल्प-निमित्तसमितिकान्ततासुपा-दायेति । एतेन सर्वेविकल्पसमितिकामता²⁷ दर्शिता भवति अमनसिकार-शब्देनेति ।

पर्युदासपक्षेऽपि न दोषः, अन्नाह्मणमानयेत्युक्तो बाह्मणसदृशस्य क्षत्रिया-देरानयनं [प्रकाशयति],²⁸ न²⁹ विजातीयस्य कटादेः ॥

अत्रापि निःस्वमाववेदनस्य संस्थितिः कृता³⁰ एतेन मायोपमाद्वयवादः³¹ स्थितो भवेत् ॥

कुतो उच्छेदवाद (प्रसंग)³² इति । [यदि नञः प्रयोगः स्यात् । शब्दोऽयं द्वय उच्यते ॥ मायासंसिद्ध-प्रसज्यप्रतिषेधो न भवति । स हि न प्रश्नः । ज्ञानेनानेन गतिनिरोधभावो हि नश्यति । एवं कथितं च,³³ अकारे

^{24.} Tib. omits.

Tib. chags pa thānes cad (= Sarva-Sanga-hāni). Sarvā-sangahāni may be acceptable, Sarva—āsanga.

^{26.} Bka' 'gyur Jap. Cata, No. 142.

^{27.} Tib. yan dag par 'das na blans pa'o suggests Samatīkrāntām upādāyeti.

^{28.} Skt. bhavati; Tib. gsal gyi.

^{29.} Tib. adds vin no.

^{30.} Tib. by gnas par byas ste.

^{31.} See, Introduction, Advayavajra, edn. by Mm. H.P. Sastri (G.O.S.' p. xxxiv.

^{32.} Tib. omits.

^{33.} Tib. adds the following: 'o na kyan med pa'i tha snad tsam ste | tshig 'di ni gñis brdzod par bya'o ||

Sgyu mala yan dag par grub pa med pas yod pa 'gags pa ni ma yin telde na dri bar yan ma yin no | rig pa 'di yis 'gro ba 'gogs pa'i lou ni ñam par 'gyur | 'di na brdzod pa tsam byas pa'o || This portion is not found in Sanskrit.

AMANASIKĀRĀDHĀRA OF ADVAYAVAIRA

प्रधानो³⁴ मनसिकारो नञ् न क्रियते,³⁴⁰ शाकपार्थिवादिवत् मध्यपद्छोपी समासः ॥

एतेन यावान् मनसिकारः सर्वमनुत्पादात्मक[ार्थं इत्य]र्थः। क निर्दिष्टं भगवता अनुत्पादकारको (अकार) (अकार) हिल्लं विष्टं स्वाप्त्रम्] हित । तद् यथा उक्तं च हेवज्र-मन्त्रपटले कि अकारो मुखं सर्वधर्माणमाद्यनुत्पन्नत्वात् कि प्रवादं कि शितम्]। अस्यार्थः, सर्वधर्माणामाद्यनुत्पन्नत्वात् अकारो मुखं प्रधानं भूतिमत्यकारस्त्वनुत्पन्नलक्षणः योज्यः। वि

तथा च नामसंगीतौ —

अकारः सर्ववर्णायो महार्थः परमाक्षरः । महाप्राणो⁴¹ ह्यनुत्पादो वागुदाहारवर्जितः ॥

इति । अकारोऽत्र वैराग्यबीनम् ॥

तथा च हेवज्रे—⁴²आलेरादि नेरायि (?) नैरात्म्यमिति ॥ एतेन सर्वमनसिकारोऽनात्मकोऽस्वाभाव इत्युक्तं च भवति । आदिस्वरस्वभावा सा धी⁴³ति बुद्धं⁴⁴ प्रकल्पिता ।

सैव भगवती प्रज्ञा उत्पन्नक्रमयोगतः ॥

^{34.} Tib. suggest akāropradhāno manasikāra; but in Skt. the sense is clear according to the context.

³⁴a. Skt. yadi catra nano vyutpattir atra kriyate.

^{35.} Skt. sarvamanutpādātmaka ity arthah,

^{36.} Tib. omits.

^{37.} Tib. tshig gis tsam yig ces suggests sabdairaksaramātram.

^{38.} Bka' 'gyur rgyud Jap. Cata. No. 417.

^{39.} Tibetan transcription of Sanskrit verse.

^{40.} Skt. yo'gra but Tib. Sbyor ro suggests yojyah.

^{41.} Tib. khon nas 'byun ba.

^{42.} See Introduction to Tantric Buddhism-S. B. Das Gupta, p. 120.

^{43.} Skt. Sā dhīti; Tib. makes the sense clear blo shes pa ni (= dhīr iti) but Sanskrit metre does not allow).

^{44.} Tib. Seo rab. is equivalent to prājna, buddha, etc.

यदि वा अ इति प्रभास्वरपदं, मनसिकार इति स्वाधिष्ठानपदम्, अश्वासौ मनसिकारश्चेति अमनसिकारः। एतेन अमनसिकारादिपदैः अचिन्त्यप्रभास्वाधिष्ठानपदं [आत्म-] अचिन्त्यप्रभास्वाधिष्ठानपदं [आत्म-] अविन्त्यप्रभास्वाधिष्ठानपदं [आत्म-] अविन्त्यप्रभास्वाधिष्ठानपदं [आत्म-] अविन्त्यप्रभास्वाधिष्ठानपदं [आत्म-] अविन्त्यप्रभास्वाधिष्ठानपदं [आत्म-] अविन्त्यप्रभास्वाधिष्ठानपदं [आत्म-] अविन्त्यप्रभासिकार्ये ।

॥ अमनसिकाराधारग्रन्थैरात्मप्रकाशः समाप्तः ॥ महाचार्य - अद्वयवज्रेन कृतः प्रबन्धः समाप्तः ॥

भारतीयपण्डितवज्रवाणिना भोददेशीय-लोचावाक्षुद्रचण्डे (१) न अनूदितः इति ॥

TIBETAN TEXT

[47a: 5] rgya gar skad du | A Mā na sa ka ra u da ra nā ma dpal rdo rje sems dpa' la phya 'tshal to || yid la mi byed pa zhes bya ba 'di ni phal cher log par rtogs pa ste | de la kha cig 'di skyon can gyi tshig tu smra ste | bsdus pas yid la ma byed pa zhes rtogs 'gyur ro ||

de la brdzod par bya ste | de ni skyes bu byas pa'i la zhes bya ba'i la zhes bya ba'i tshig gis bdun pa phis pa ste | phis pa bsdu ba byas pas yid la mi byed pa dan | yid mi byed pa dan | yid la mi byed pa ste | bags pa'i snin po dan | pag pa snin pa'o | gyul la brtson pa zhes bya bas de dag gi gzugs grub pa'o | de'i phyir 'di skyou [47b: 1] can gyi tshig ma yin no ||

gzhan yan tshig 'di mtshan nid kyis grub pa yin te l 'ou kyan sans rgyas pa'i ma yin no ||

de ni ma yin te | mdo sde du mar mthon ba'i phyir ro ||

'phags pa sans rgyas thams cad kyi yul la 'jug pa ye s'es snan ba'i nan pa rgyan zhes bya ba theg pa cheu po'i mdo las l

yid la mi byed pa'i chos rnams dga pa'o | yid la byed pa'i chos rnams mi dge pa'o ||

^{45.} Tib. bdag la suggest ātmani which is not found in Skt.

^{46.} Skt. advayavāhi is probably a corrupt form. Tib. gnis su med pa'i rgyuno suggests advayavādi:

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zhes pa dan | de bzhin du kun tu rtog pas ma brtags pa |
rab tu mi gnas pa yi yid |
drau pa med cin yic byed med |
dmigs pa med la phyag 'tshal 'dud ||

de bzhin du rnam par mi rtog pa la 'jug pa'i gzugs las l

byau chub sems dpa' sems dpa' cheu po rnam par rtags pa thāms cad kyi mkha sa ni snan ba la rtogs pa ste | yid la mi byed pas yons su spans pa'o ||

mdo sde gzhan dan gzhau gyi gzhun mans kyis dogs pas 'dir mi byas so ||

da ni gzhan brjod pa tshig 'di ni mdo sde pa'i tshig ñid do snags kyi ma yin no ||

ci'i phyir zhe na | mdo sde rnams las mthon ba'i phir ro zhes de ni ma yin te | he ba dzra las gsuns pa' | no bo nid kyi sems med cin |

sems byun ba'an med pa'o de bzhin du

gan phyir yid kyis ma bsgoms na l'gro ba thams cad bsgom par bya l

zhes pa'i dou gyis yid la mi byed pa'o zhes rtags par bya'o |

gzhan yan brjod pa rgyud na'an yod de! med par dgag pa ni med pa'i yul min pa'i phyir! dnos po med pa brjod par bya'o !!

de na ma yin te | yod pa'i dnos po 'gog pa ni med par dgag pa'o ||

yan na thal ba med pas thal bar 'gyur ba 'gog pa'i zhes pa ni med pa dgag pa'o ||

ji btar rgyal po'i btsun mo ni ma ma mthon ba me'di'i don tel 'di lta bu ma min zam zhes pa yan rgyal po'i chun ma de shin tu spas pas nin yan yan mi mthou pa'o ||

'dir dgag pas ñi ma med par ma byas pa'o || gan zhe na | rgyal po'i chun ma rnams gan gi ñi ma mthon [48°: 1] ba yod na de 'gog pa ste | yid la mi byed pa la yan yid la byed pa ga' bzun ba 14

dan 'dzin pa la sogs par yod pa de 'gag pa ste | yid ni ma yin te | 'di la skyon med do ||

gan gi tshe la la 'di skad 'chad do | rtag pa chad pa'i mtshau niid ni yid la byed pa'o ||

Snam sems na de'i phyir brjod pa rtag pa dan chad pa la sogs par yid la byed pa yid la mi byed na l de dag gis ni chags pa thams cad la gnad par byed pa ste yid la mi byed pa'i sgra yis so l

de btar yan beom ldan 'das kyis rnam par rtog pa'i dbyins la kid la mi byed pa zhes brjod | rnam par rtogs pa thams cad kyi mtshau ma las yau dag par 'das na blans pa'o ||

de dag gis ni rnam par rtog pa thams cad las yan dag par 'das pa bstan par 'gyur te l

yid la mi byed pa'i sgra yis so | ma yin pa dgag pa'i phyags kyan skyeu med do | bram je ma yin pa khrid la sog ces pas bram je dan 'dra ba'i rgyal po la sogs pa khrid la sog ces par gsal gyi | rigs mi mthun shin shin rta mkhan la sogs pa ni ma yin no ||

'di la yan ran bzhin med pa'i rig pa la gnas par byas ste de dag gis ni sgyu ma lta bar gnis su med par smra bar gnas par 'gyur ro ||

'gan la ni chad par lta' bar 'gyur |
'On kyan med pa's tha snad tsam ste |
tshig 'di ni gnis brjod par bya'o ||

sgyu ma'am yan dag par grub pa med pas yod pa 'gogs pa ni ma yin te∣ de ni dri bar yan ma yin no∥

rig pa 'di yis 'gro ba 'gags pa'i dou ni ñams par 'gyur | 'di na brjod pa tsam byas so ||

a yig gtso bor gyur ba'i yod la byed po ni med la mi byed pa ste l lo na'i rgyal po bzhin tshig dbus na byis pa'i bsdus pa'o ll

de gan gis ni yid la byed pa gan thams cad ni a [48b: 1] skye ba med pa'i dou te | bcom ldau 'das kyis gan bstan cau | skye ba med pa zhes bya ba'i tshig gis tsam yig ces bya ba 'di lta ste | dkyes pa'i rdo rje'i snags kyi le'u las kyan |

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akāro mukham sarvadharmānām anutpannatvād ces pa la sogs pa gsuns te / 'di you yan chas thams cad thog ma nas skye ba med a'i phyir a'i sgra gtso bor gyur ba ste / a zhes ma skye ba'i mtshaup du sbyar ro || de ltar yan mtshau yan dag par brjod pa las /

a mi yig 'bri kun gyi mchog /
dou cheu yi ge dam pa yin /
khon nas 'byun ba skye ba med /
tshig tu brjod pa spons ba ste || zhes pa ste /

yan 'dir a ni bdag med pa'i sa bou no || de skad du yan dgyes pa'i rdo rje las a li dan po ni hedag med pa'o || de dag gis nis yid la byed pa thams cad bdag med pas ran bzhin med pa zhes brjod par 'gyur ro ||

dan po dbyans yig ran bzhin te / blo zhes pa ni shes rale brtags / de nid beom ldau 'das shes rab / rdzogs pa'i rim pa'i sbyar ba nid ||

yan na a zhes pa ni 'od gsal ba'i tshig la yid la byed pa ni bdag khrin gyis brlabs pa'i tshig ste / 'di yan a yin yid la byed pa yan yin pas yid la mi byed pa'o ||

'dis ni yid la mi byed pa'i gnas bsam gyis mi khyab pa 'od gsal dan khyb pa 'od gsal ba bdag la byin gyis brlabs pa'i bdag nid ston pa nid dan / Snin rje pa med pa zun du 'jug pa gnis su med pa'i rgyun yan dag par rig pa bskyed par 'gyur ro ||

yid la mi byed pa ston pa bdag med pa gsal ba rdzags so || slob dpou cheu po gñis med pa'i rdo rjes mdzad pa rdzags so ||

rgya gar gyi mkhau po bajrapāņi dan | bad kyi lo tsa ba gñau chun gis bcas pa rdzogs so || control of the beginning to the different stands

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ACĀRA-SANGRAHAŢĪKĀ OF JAYARAKŞITA

By

Sanghasena, Delhi University

The \overline{Aca} ra-sangraha is a collection of verses written by the author who is probably Śrīghana. This is clear from the fact that the author of the commentary, the \overline{Aca} ra-sangraha- \overline{Iika} , repeats his name several times. In the beginning and in the end, he clearly gives the name of the work and the author: \overline{Aca} rasangrahasyasyas mrtaye mandamedhasam, and 'sa Śrīghanacarasusangrahasyas kṛtvā hi iākām yad avāpa puṇyam' respectively. That the work is the collection of verses is also clear from the commentary, as it often refers to the text by the words: 'iti sangrahaslokah'.

Unfortunately the original text is not available. What we have is the commentary on it written by Jayarakşita. Photographic films of this commentary were brought by the great Indian explorer, Rahula Sankrityayana, from Nagor monastery in Tibet. These have been preserved by the Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna. The name of the work given there is Śrāmanerakārikāṭīkā:

So far as the date of composition of the original work is concerned, it is difficult to say anything with certainty. About the date of the commentary, some evidences can be gleaned from the commentary itself. In the beginning the author salutes Lord Buddha with the words: 'Om namo Buddhāya'. The use of the word 'Om' clearly shows the lateness of the work. Two works, Jātakamālā and Kamsavadha, are mentioned by the author. Giving justification for the title of the work Ācārasangraha the commentator says: 'ācārapratipādako'pi grantha ācāra ūcyate iti upacārāt Jātākamālāvat Kamsavadhavat'. We are sure of the authorship and date of Jātakamālā which was written by Āryasūra in the 4th century A.D. So this work cannot be earlier than the date mentioned above.

The author begins the commentary with the words: Om namo Buddhāya. Considering it to be a good practice, the author gives

two mangalas'lokas. He proceeds further with the words: प्रहीणाशेषसंक्षेश इति विस्तर:। The author discusses in this work mainly the Code of Conduct for the Buddhist novices. It has been clearly said: Srāmanerāṇām ācāraḥ saṃgṛhīṣyate. Those who have taken the ten precepts are called the Śrāmaneras: Srāmanerā dasasikṣāpada-prarigṛhītā eva'. The discussion on these ten precepts covers almost the whole of the work. In the end, the author describes the general behaviour of a s'rāmanera towards his preceptor and others. The whole work may thus be divided into eleven Sections.

The first Section contains the introductory portion and the discussion on the first precept, viz. 'prānivadhavirati'. It is discussed in detail and covers more than 33 folios of the Ms. The other precepts have been discussed rather briefly when compared to the first one.

While introducing the discussion on the first precept, the author deals with 's'araṇagamana 'and 'pañcaśikṣāpadāni'. First of all the śrāmaṇera has to take refuge in the Buddha. The author explains in detail the connotation of term 'Buddha'. He begins with four etymological explanations:

'भूतभाविसाम्प्रतिकाध्वितिपुक्तक्षेयबुद्धेर्विकाशनात् मोहसंकोचापगमात् बुद्धः', 'संसारमहाशयनादुरियतः अज्ञानिद्रापगमात् बौद्धस्य ज्ञानस्य साक्षात्करणाद् बुद्धः', अज्ञानितिमरपटलपर्यवनद्धनेत्रान् प्राणिनो बोधयतीति बुद्धः', 'अनुत्तरेण ज्ञानेन बुध्यते वा शिवमिति बुद्धः'।

In order to prove the explanation given by him, the author quotes some kārikās which, due to lack of sufficient data, we cannot identify. The author refers to other works without giving their names and authors: অন্যুখ বাহানেই নিহিছমিনি. Dharma is so called because its nature is to preserve its characteristics or because it does not get destroyed or ruined. This Dharma is again said to be of two kinds- 'adhigamasvabhāva' and 'agamasvabhāva'. The eight mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇas are themselves called Saṅgha.

First of all one is to take refuge in Buddha, Dharma and Sangha. After that he takes Siksapancaka, i. e., प्राणातिपात-अदत्तादान-काम-निध्याचारमृषावाद-सुरामिरेयमय-प्रमादस्थानकेभ्यो विरमणम्. He

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utters the words: बुद्ध भगवन्तं प्रविज्ञतं अनुप्रविज्ञामीति and then he takes the life of a recluse. Thus a s'rāmanera is one who takes the vow of not to injure any being up to the vow not to take gold, silver etc.: प्राणातिपाताद्विरत: यावज्ञातरूपर्जतप्रतिप्रह्णात्. This injunction has been made by Śākyamuni.

Now the author begins to comment on the Acārasaṅgraha with the words: एषां श्रामणेराणामाचारसंग्रहमारभते—सक्टेन शरीरेणेत्यादि । One should not kill or injure any being by his body or by anything else. In this way kāyikavikrama or injury to any being has been prohibited. Vācikavikrama is also not allowed for him. And again it is also not permitted that one should instigate any one else to such an act with vadhakacitta. For all transgressions the charge of saṃvaratyāga is levelled against the śrāmaṇeras. There are other acts, such as virekavamanālepa etc., where also samvaratyāga has been enjoined.

The author has also made it clear by what acts one gets duṣkṛta, samvaratyāga and ayatibhāva. One should not ask anybody, with an intention to kill him, to lie on a bed where there is fear of snakes etc. If he does so and the man survives, it is duṣkṛta, otherwise it is pure samvaratyāga. And again pretending to kill tigers etc., if he kills his enemy, he becomes ayati. He should be driven out from the Vihāra then and there. Instigating any other śrāmaṇera for that purpose is also a serious act which makes him ayati.

The author enumerates the Pañcāngāni in killing a man. They are: तदुपक्रम:, उसंज्ञा, नर:, वधकचेतना and जीवितक्षय:। It corresponds to the Pāli passage: तस्स पञ्चसंभारा होन्ति-पापो, पाणसज्जिता, वधकचित्तं, उपक्रमो, तेन मरणं ति। A śrāmaṇera should not make use of a weapon or poison to make an end of another man. If he does so and the man dies, the killer, though he is a s'rāmaṇera, becomes asamvarī; otherwise he is charged with aghāpatti or simply āpatti.

A śramanera should not take any preparation of meat, if that has been prepared for him by killing any being. The author gives the proper reason for it. Suppose a man kills fish or the like. A tasty and palatable preparation is made out of it. The śrama-

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nera is served with it. It helps him to develop a mind which has no mercy towards beings. Thus by taking food which has been prepared by killing animals exclusively for him, he may himself go on killing due to excess of liking for those Thus there is the possibility of himsā on his part. preparations. Hence it is said that a śrāmanera should not take meat or the like if it has been prepared exclusively for him. Now again there arises a question how to know if it has been prepared for him by killing animals or the like. This can be ascertained in three ways: अभ्रान्तिमता निरीक्षितेन श्रुतेन शिक्कतेन वा. If the host says that the preparation has been made out of the flesh of an animal which has not been killed by him but had died a natural death or was slain by some stronger bird or animal there is no offence at all on the part of the S'ramanera in taking such meat. The meat prepared for the sake of another Srāmaņera, Bhikṣu, Bhikṣuṇī, Upāsaka or Upāsikā by killing any being, is also not permitted for him.

A Vratī, i.e., a s'rāmaņera, should not deliberately drink the water which is full of insects. The author goes on to explain how to know whether the water is full of insects or not. It is to be taken only after proper straining.

The s'rāmanera should neither spread out his bedding which is full of bugs in sunlight with an intention to get it dry nor should throw it into snow, mud or cold water. In this way also the s'rāmanera is not allowed to inflict pain on any being.

At the end of the first Section, the author summarises it and says that दुष्कृतपूर्वक संवरत्याग had been explained in all the kārikās beginning from श्रीरेण and ending with अवक्रीतादि. By the rest simple दुष्कृतानि had been shown. The Section ends with the words: स्फुटार्थायां श्रीघनाचारसंग्रह्टीकायां प्राणिवधविरतिशिक्षापदं नाम प्रथमं समाप्तम्।

The Second Section of the work begins with the words: उक्तं प्राणिवधविरितिशिक्षापदम् । इदानीं वक्तव्यं यतो यस्यकस्यचिद्वस्तुमात्रस्य यदा... Just after this passage there occurs a long gap, the reason for which is difficult to explain.

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The next thing to be discussed is what quantity of a thing, when stolen, causes संवर्द्याग in the case of a Śrāmaṇera. Even one-fourth of a kārṣāpaṇa when stolen or removed from its place or accepted by him is so serious an offence that he is to be removed then and there from the Vihāra by the other yatis. Mention of the stealing of a garland of pearls is interesting. In the same way a śrāmaṇera is not expected to take out ghṛta, kṣaudra, taila, etc., by making a hole in the pot. He becomes कृतसंबर if he takes for himself somehow or other any landed property when brothers are dividing their lands among themselves.

Suppose any yati (आगन्तुक) comes to a Vihāra. After spending the night he goes away forgetting his pātra and cīvara. If the Śrāmanera preserves them, he is still 'acora', but if all the residents of that Vihāra steal them, they all become कृतसंबर-s, etc. Several exceptions have also been mentioned here by the author in this regard.

One should not give Sānghikalābha to the stūpa or Staupikalābha to the Sangha, with the intention of stealing it, thinking: यावत मुनेकुँद्धस्य भगवतः पूजा कियते तावत् संघर्यापि पूजासत्कारः प्रवर्तते. If he does so, he becomes कृतसंवर. The author deals here in detail with Staupikalābha and Sānghikalābha.

While dealing with Paribhoga, whether it is permitted to Śrāmaneras and Bhikṣus, the author remarks: न वा विनये तर्कोऽवतार- थितज्य:. It is an important point which has been discussed by several authors in different places.

A Śrāmaņera should not tell others the ways and means of escaping from the royal taxes; nor should he allow himself to be caught in the snare of any clever and cunning trader who in order to be saved from paying taxes tries to manipulate him.

Now the author deals with Varṣāvāsikalābha. Any Śrāmaṇera having his Varṣāvāsa in any village or town, whosoever a Śrāmaṇera is having his varṣāvāsa, he must be provided with it. But it should not be given to those who are avarṣoṣita-s. If a man after

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giving up his bhikşubhāva again takes Pravrajyā, he must be provided with the same lābha as other varṣoṣita-s have been provided with. Here it is said that the following five pudgalas do not deserve the lābha: अवर्षित, विश्वान्त, कुद्दि, मृतक and देशान्तर्गत. Further, the author makes it clear which of the lābhas should be given to all varṣoṣita-s and which only to Sammu-khībhūta-s. He enumerates ten types of lābha-s which are exclusively for the Sammukhībhūta-s. They are kālika-yāmika.

At the end of this section also the author summarises the whole section and says that Samvaratyāga has been explained in all the sentences beginning with कालिक and ending with दक्षिणादेशनेऽप्येवम् and that दुष्कृतानि have been explained by all the sentences beginning with उपकार्यपकारिषु and ending with त्र्णीं दत्वेत्यादि. By the rest, पञ्चाङ्गनियम has been discussed.

The Third Section begins with the words: मैथुनविरतिशिक्षापद्- लक्षणं लब्बावकाश्चमधिकृत्याह. A Śrāmaṇera should never indulge in sexual intercourse with any man or woman, or any other being. If he does so, he becomes कृतसंवर, i. e., अर्थात. From here up to the end of this section several instructions regarding the conduct of a Śrāmaṇera are given: he should neither praise nor blame the breast, lips or any other organ of a woman; he should not speak to her leud words; he should not perform the role of a messenger for establishing communion between two persons, etc.

The Fourth Section begins with the words मृषावाद्विरतिशिक्षा-पदमिषकृत्याह. If a Śrāmaṇera goes on boasting that he possesses the knowledge and insight which the Pratyekabuddha, Sambuddha and their disciples had, when he really does not possess them, he must be considered fit to be driven out and must be treated as a śrāmaṇera. This reminds us of the fourth Pārājikadhamma in Bhikkhupātimokha. Next the author explains in detail jñāna and darsana.

A yati should not boast of having accomplished अतीन्द्रियं वस्तुः He should not speak of his qualities to others nor that of any

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other person. The author amplifies here, what āryavyavahāra and anāryavyavahāra are. Āryavyavahāra is to speak of dṛṣṭa, sruta or mata, what has been actually seen, heard or experienced by the help of the nose, tongue and body: तिसम् दष्टे दष्टमिति वदेद् याविद्वज्ञानिमिति. The anāryavyavahāra is just opposite to this.

One is known as mṛṣāvādin by the following five aṅga-s: वस्तु च भवति, अलीकसंज्ञा च भवति, विनिद्धितं चित्तं भवति, मृषावादसंज्ञी च भवति, वाचं च आभाषते ।. The author says that sometimes one becomes a mṛṣāvādin by four aṅga-s or even by three or two. One becomes a mṛṣāvādin even by only one aṅga when he विनिधाय चित्तं वाचं भाषते ।

The author deals in this section also with some दुष्कृतानि which are possible in this शिक्षापद. Thus by the first three ukārikās संवरसाग has been dealt with and by the rest पञ्चाङ्गानि and दुष्कृतानि.

The Fifth Section begins with the words: अवस्पातं सुरामेरेयमय-पानिवरितिशिक्षापदमधिकृत्याह । A Śrāmaṇera should not take surāmaireya, etc., nor should he offer it to anybody else, because it is the cause of Pramāda or loss of the kusaladharmas in him. The author explains it by giving an example. What surā and maireya are and what the process of their manufacture is, is also explained by the author. A Śrāmaṇera should not take also other things that are intoxicating, such as kodbhava-bhakta.

The Sixth Section is on उच्चत्यनमहाज्ञयनिव्दत्ति. The height of the chair or bed of a Śrāmaṇera should be only twentyfour aṅgulis of an ordinary man and only eight aṅgulis of the Jina, i.e., the Buddha himself: जिनाष्टाज्ञुलपादकं ज्ञायनासनम्। एतच जिनाष्टाज्ञुलप्रमाणे सामान्यपुरुषाष्टाज्ञुलप्रमाणेन द्विगुणं भवति. Further instructions have been given to Śrāmaṇeras regarding this Śikṣāpada, e.g., he should not sit on any cot or seat if it has got no प्रत्यास्तरण, although it may be जिनाष्टाज्ञलप्रमाण.

The next thing discussed in this section is why the Buddha did not permit the use of उन्त्रायनमहाज्ञयन to yati-s. The answer given

by the author is simple and convincing: यस्मादतीवोच्चरायनासनं यते: श्रामणेरस्य मदकरं लोकावध्यानस्य च हेतुकारणं, तस्मात् कारणाद्भगवानुचरायनमहारायनं प्रतिषिद्धवान्. Now the question arises what is uccasayana and what is mahāsayana. The author explains: जिनाष्टाङ्गुलप्रमाणातिरेकप्रमाणिकत्वानुचरायनम् । महारायनच रुक्मरूप्यमयत्वादिति ।

The next Section is that of नृत्यगीतवादित्रविरितिशक्षापद. First the author explains what nṛṭya, gīta and vāditra are. If a Śrāmanera dances or sings or plays on a vāditra, he is charged with duṣkṛṭa.

Several instructions have been given by the Buddha himself regarding गन्धमाल्यविलेपनविर्तिशिक्षापद. The author explains them and in the end remarks: यस्तु यति: शैथिलिकत्वादिना यथोक्तं विधि न संपादयति, तस्य दुष्कृतं भवति। In short a healthy yati should never use चन्दनादिकं गन्धं nor garland of flowers nor any kind of vilepana. But some relaxation of the rules is allowed to a यति who is ailing and who has been advised by his physician the use of one or other of these prohibited things. The author has given the reasons for the prohibition of all these things by Lord Buddha himself: यस्मान्द्रत्यगीतवादिनं विशोकदर्शनं गन्धमाल्यादिलेपनथारणञ्च यतेरप्रतिरूपकरं औद्धत्यकरं, जनानाञ्च कोपकारणं (?) अवध्यानकरं, तस्मा जिनवुद्धभगवद्विगहिंतं निन्दितं, प्रसङ्गेनान्यद्पि प्रतिषेधयित।

The Ninth Section is विकालभोजनविर्ति. Giving reasons for this precept the author refers to the words uttered by the Buddha himself: यस्मान्मम रात्रेरन्यत्र भुजानस्यात्परोगता वभूव, तस्माद् युष्माभिरि दिवसे भोज्ञन्यं, न रात्राविति। Other reasons are also given. While roaming about in villages and streets for alms during night, the yatis might tread over places of filth or urine, or might encounter thieves, snakes, etc. Moreover people would be annoyed and harassed by yatis who roam about! during night for the sake of satisfying their appetite. So it was enjoined upon the यित्र not to take food after noon (मध्याह) and before sunrise the next day.

The Tenth Section is very brief. A Śrāmanera should not touch silver, gold, etc., even by his clothes, umbrella, etc. He

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should treat them as burning fire, ज्वलितामिवत्. This section ends with the words: अनने दशमं शिक्षापदमभिहितम्.

The Eleventh and last Section contains instructions in general for the Śrāmaneras. Its importance is judged from the fact that it contains almost all the useful instructions meant for the yatis. In the beginning the author says: इदानीं प्रसङ्गनान्यद्प्याचार (—?) संप्राह्यति. The discussion here on these other ācāras can be justified by the आम्नवणन्याय so commonly used in Sanskrit literature.

There is not the least doubt that the Acārasangraha and its commentary are purely Vinaya texts. The tīkā is based on older works. The author quotes often verses from earlier texts to justify his explanation or interpretation. Sometimes he refers to some texts with the words, इति शास्त्रान्तरे निर्दिष्टमिति. He has quoted some authors by name, भदन्तापरिहत्तघोष, प्रज्ञासिंह, धर्मावलोकितिमत्र etc. In subject matter, the text is not very much different from the Pāli Vinaya texts. The discussion raised here on different Sikṣāpadas is often nothing but a paraphrasing of the Vinaya rules given in Pātimokkha and Suttavibhanga. The beginning of the discussion on मृषाबादिवरितिशिक्षापद is one such. Here the similarity with the 4th Pārājika-dhamma dealt with in Bhikkhu-Pātimokkha, from which words like jñāna, darsana, anyatra and abhimāna have been taken and used exactly in the same sense, can be noticed.

The language of the Acārasangraha-tīkā is Sanskrit. It is so only because this commentary is on a text which was also written in Pāṇinian Sanskrit. The method of commenting is also on a line with Sanskrit commentators: e.g., प्रहीणाशेषसंक्षेश इति विस्तर:। तत्र त्रिविधः संक्षेशः क्षेशसंक्षेशः, कमसंक्षेशः, जन्मसंक्षेशः। क्षिरयन्ति काय-वाक्-चित्तानि इति क्षेशाः etc.

One thing may however be noticed. The author has freely used words which were current only among Buddhist scholars, some of them being merely wrong Sanskritisations of Pali words. The Pāli words are used here exactly in the same sense. We

come across very often in Pāli dukkaṭa used in the sense of mild offence. The word duṣkṛṭa has been used here in the same sense. Other words of this category are: शडकजातीय, मिथ्यादृष्टिक, मातृग्राम, अन्यत्र, अन्तशः, विशोक, etc. The author has used some Prākṛṭ words also, e.g., धह, चेल्लक, etc.

Some passages in the text are not very clear due to the readings of the Ms. being very corrupt. Sometimes words and sentences have been rubbed out or wrongly written. It is doubtful whether the Ms. in hand is complete or not. In the Journal of the Bihar Research Society this has been marked by a querry. However, we can judge it from the Ms. itself. In the end the author says: एतदनन्तरोक्तं श्रीधनाचारसंग्रहं महत्यपत्यकृतं कुशलकृतं तेन सुकृतेन कमणा जनो लोक: असंस्कृतं निर्वाणं प्रापुणातु लभतामित्यनेन स्लोकेन परिणामयित । The author next gives आशीर्वचन । It is true that in the present Ms several passages are missing and we cannot trace a link between what precedes and what follows, but still the text can be taken as more or less complete. However, the final opinion on the matter is possible only from a comparison with its translations in Tibetan or Chinese.

SECTION VII: PRĀKRTS AND JAINISM

President: Dr. B. J. Sandesara

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CULTURAL GLEANINGS FROM HEMACANDRĀCĀRYA'S TRIŞAŞŢIS'ALĀKĀPURUŞACARITA, I.i

By

J. P. Thaker, Baroda

In a paper on the importance of Ācārya Hemacandra's Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritamahākāvya, submitted to the 17th Session of this Conference, the present author had expressed the necessity of a critical study of this great work. The present paper tries to set out the culural gleanings from the first Sarga of the first Parvan of the same, which narrates in 911 verses the life-stories of the 12 births of the soul of Śrī Rṣabhanātha, the first Tīrthankara, after its becoming Bhavya.

Castes

As to the intrinsic institution of castes, the Brāhmana enjoyed the highest honour (313). Kṣatriyas were the protecting rulers, while the Vais'yas earned a lot through trading etc. (36), and the S'ūdras were the traditional servers.

Occupations

The merchants went to distant places in huge caravans for the purchase and sale of commodities (49, 223-225). Besides commerce, agriculture (293, 828) and cattle-breeding (219) were two prominent professions of the day. The indigent earned their bread by gathering fuel-wood from mountain regions and selling the same to the villagers, etc. (546-7, 595). Fishery had developed considerably (571). The other occupations referred to by our poet are those of oil-extractors (563), grain-parchers (572), black-smiths (565, 593), wood-sawers (563), painters (343, 648-655), actors (829), musicians (489), sailors (318, 586), gardeners (630), magicians (585, 640), snake-charmers (850), hunters (577), and washers (564). The profession of courtesans was also a regularised one (739). The melting of wax-balls by the insertion of hot needles into them is referred to in verse 85.

^{1.} The references are to the verses of the first sarga in the Jaina. Atmanada Sabha edition, Vol. I, 1936.

Stages of life

There is no distinct reference to the four stages of life. The religious preceptors moved from place to place, surrounded by their disciples and fellow-mendicants. In danger-zones they accompanied the trade-caravans (53) and the leader and other members of the same felt it obligatory to extend all sorts of help to them (61-62, 131-132). They invariably performed their religious austerities and other daily routine like ध्यान, मीन कायोत्सर्ग, आगमपठन, बाचना, भूमिप्रमार्जना, बन्दना, धर्मकथा etc. (122-124) even on such long journeys. When required to encamp they lived in small huts erected on pure spots with Palāśa-roofs and grass-walls (102, 118). Occasionally they pronounced inspiring religious sermons (145-201, 541-593) that promoted renunciation.

Several kings are stated to have taken to the course of mendicancy after having installed their sons on their thrones with their own hands (268, 274).

Lively debates on such vital subjects as religion and philosophy were undertaken in royal assemblies, wherein ministers tried to direct the king to the right path (285-449).

Family-life, Women

The eldest man was the head of the joint family. We get here no clear evidence about the purdah system, but the position of women was, in all probability, low (796). The birth of a daughter was condemned as the fruit of some sinful action (534). At one place she is compared to the ulcers of the itch (531). The poor at least were negligent in her breeding (542). In case a maiden fell in love with some youth on account of his valorous feats, she let her father know the fact through some friend (684) and the father, on his part, wedded her to him if he thought it a suitable match (685). The bride had to go to her husband's house after marriage and on that occasion the newly wedded couple wore white silken or linen garments (688).

In the scorching heat of summer ladies tried to cool themselves by ablutions in rivers and by wearing lotus-stalks around their necks. (87-88).

Costumes

We get no clear evidence about the costumes of the day. The देवाङ्गवासस् or देवद्ध्य clothes are stated to be heaped in the houses of the pious rich (40). Probably these were the garments that first adorned the idols and were then offered, as a token of Divine Grace, especially to affluent devotees, mostly in exchange of their valuable presentations to the deities.

There is a distinct mention of mocaka-s which may mean either whole boots or socks covering the legs upto the knees:

अध्वन्यजन आजानुसंलमनवकर्दमः। आमुक्तमोचक इव प्रचचाल शनैः शनैः॥

This clearly indicates that the मोचक hindered the gait.

Decorations

The ornaments mentioned by our poet are: jewelled anklets, girdles, bracelets, armlets, pearl-strings, necklaces, ear-rings, flower-braids and diadems (465-466; 441). Fragrant pastes of camphor, aloe, musk, sandal etc., were applied to the body for further decoration (342, 367, 414).

Pastimes

Besides the cotton-beds (413), we find references to such pleasure-places as the swing (506), beautiful pleasure-hills, rivers, ponds, oblong lakes, parks and gardens (518, 613). At some places there were even rows of parks (281). Hunting also formed a pastime (303, 574). Harlots attended upon the kings (and other wealthy men) with chowries, mirrors and fans (488).

Jokes

There is a reference to the sitting on a couch strapped with unripe strings (556). At another place there is mention of the Kapikacchu fruit the very touch whereof makes one very uneasy creating as it does a strong itching sensation (588). These might be utilised for jokes even today.

Journey

The first birth-story, viz., that of Dhana Sarthavaha (31-226) portrays a nice picture of the prevalent mode of a travelling. In

response to the announcement about the starting, many people joined the caravan (45.46). Mounted watchmen vigilantly guarded the caravan throughout the journey against such dangers as the attacks of thieves, robbers and savage animals (48, 65, 76). Besides the carts, they utilised the services of such beasts of burden as steeds mules, camels, bulls, buffaloes and donkeys (41, 65, 67). Ringing bells used to be tied to the necks of the bulls (73). Sometimes faithless bulls threw off the burden loaded on their back and ran away (539). The reason for this mischief might be the fact, that due to over-burden the poor creatures at times sank down in muddy ways (590). Though loaded, the mules ran so swiftly that one could not behold their legs stepping forth and as such, with sacks hanging on both sides, they appeared as if winged (68).

In these journeys all sorts of pleasure-provisions were made, to such an extent that the carts became mobile houses, as it were:

यूनामन्तर्निविष्टानां तत्र कीडानिवन्धनम् । जङ्गमानीव वेशमानि शकटानि चकासिरे॥ (69)

Such travellers had naturally to face seasonal changes on their way. In monsoon they were obliged to camp in the heart of dreadful forests (100). Several days might pass by in such a stagnant state, and consequently, at times, all their provisions for the journey having been exhausted, they had to wander in the woods in search of such wild food as plant-bulbs, etc., clad in ragged and dirty clothes like ascetics. (104).

Voyage

त्राण्ड-s or rafts were used for crossing rivers. (318). पोत-s were bigger vessels that traversed through the ocean. Being overloaded, these ships sometimes sank down in the ocean. (586).

Food

Heaps and sacks of corn were collected in the houses of the rich (40). The grain was preserved in huge earthen graneries (864). Besides mangoes (58) there was abundance of ripe इयामाक (a kind of cultivated millet), नीवार (wild uncultivated rice), वालुङ्क (a kind of cucumber), कुनल (jujube), sugar-cane, etc., especially in autumn

(211-212). On festive occasions sweets like the मोदक-s (laddus) were prepared (544). It is asserted that a mixture of molasses, flour and water effects intoxication (332, 361). Milk, honey and ghee were freely used (869-70). There is a reference to frozen ghee also (138). The चतुनियाहार is mentioned at one place (456). The pungent gourd too is referred to in verse 597.

Flesh-eating

Flesh-eating was not altogether absent. After removing the skin, the meat was cooked and fat was generally taken after being filtered (571-573, 577). The context, however, suggests that flesh-eaters had been deemed low.

Diseases and Remedies

Hemacandra has made here some valuable and interesting observations on certain diseases of the day and their remedies. Besides the ordinary ague, itch is stated to spread through scratching (298). At another place it is declared that six girls were born to an indigent woman one after another in the manner of the boils of the itch that spring forth one under another (531). Thus it was deemed contageous.

Over and above general references to persons born blind, deaf, lame and as leper (579), क्रिक्ष or leprosy spreading through germs is stated to be caused by untimely and unwholesome diet (734). A remedy for leprosy through the employment of Lākṣāpāka oil, Gos'īrṣa sandal and jewelled blanket (Ratna-kambala) is suggested in verse 746 and an actual experiment of the same has been described in 16 verses (761-76). If one goes deep into this, it may prove useful for solving to certain extent a burning problem of our age.²

Fanning, sprinkling of cold water and application of sandal paste were regarded as specific for swoon (636, 672). At one

^{2.} Scholars interested in this problem may consult the present writer's article in Gujarati entitled 'কীত্তনী एক প্রাক্তীন তথায়' published in Suśruta, No. 4, (Sept. 1955) and Bhisagbhāratl, II. 9, (October 1955), as also Prof. H. R. Kapadia's article on the 'References to Fabulous' Objects by Jaina Writers' in JOI, VIII-ii (Dec. 1958).

place there is reference to the eight-fold Indian medicine and its taste, power and efficacy (729). And the following verse is a nice taunt on the condemnable attitude of physicians towards their patients (739):

सदा संस्तुतमप्यार्तमिष प्रार्थकमप्यहो । वेद्या इव विना द्रव्यं युयं नाऽक्ष्णापि पद्यथ ॥

Customs

It was customary to make proclamations by beating drums (45). Departures were marked by the family-ladies performing certain auspicious ceremonies (49) and by the loud sounding of kettledrums (50, 218). Water was carried from place to place (probably in leather bags placed) on huge buffaloes (70).

Slavery was prevalent in the age. Verse 582 describes vividly the pitiable plight of the slaves:

मूल्यकीताश्च ताड्यन्ते केचिदश्वतरा इव। अतिभारेण वाध्यन्तेऽनुभाव्यन्ते तृषादिकम्॥

Children born with silver spoons in the mouth were usually looked after by special nurses (725).

There is a reference to passing urine and stools by sitting on stones (326). The custom of washing clothes by dashing them against large stones is cited in verse 564.

Superstitions and Beliefs

The superstition of ghosts and goblins prevailed in the society. They could be got rid of through the power of magical charms (585). Recitation of certain charms could remove the venomous of effect snake bites, etc. (850). Any disease incurable by medical remedies was supposed to be caused by some unpropitiated tutelary deity. To ward off the effect of the same, magical and mystical formulae were resorted to (640).

It was believed that rain drops falling into oyster shells during the sun's passage through the constellation of Svāti produced pearls. (820).

A king called Dandaka is stated to be guarding his treasures after his death by assuming the form of a boa constrictor (435).

There is a distinct statement that copper turned into gold (ध्रुवर्ण्यम्त) at the application of the Kotivedharasa (844). This seems to be some chemical preparation of mercury possessing magical powers. Or, if we take it as धु-वर्णमृत, this can easily be interpreted as some sort of polish. We find however, references to the same in the former sense in several other works such as Prabandhacintāmaņi, Prabandhakosa of Rājaśekhara, etc.

Flora

Besides the general references to lotuses, lotus-beds, reeds (696, 697), etc., there is mention of क्दली or the plantain tree and बद्दी or the jujube tree which cannot stand vicinity of each other (300). The निम्ब tree is expressed to be bitter in taste (413) and the शिरीष flowers stated to be so tender as to be used in preparing soft beds (340, 462). The leaves of the प्राचा were utilised in the construction of the roofs of the huts of religious preachers, especially when they encamped in forests (118). There is a reference to the क्तक्शोद or the powder of the clearing-nut which precipitates the earth-particles in water (15).

Fauna

In addition to the creatures already mentioned above, we find reference to the following: बक or heron is stated as swallowing up aquatic animals (571) like the मीन or fish (290, 326). Similarly गृञ्च or vulture (576), शिञ्चान or falcon (576) and र्येन or hawk (314, 576) are represented as the eaters of such small birds as क्योत or dove (576), बदका or sparrow (276), तितिरि or partridge (576) and जुक or parrot (576). बळाका or crane (271) and इंस or flamingo (501) possessed proverbial white colour (281). The latter is also represented as sporting with beloveds in lotusbeds (316). मयूर or peacock is fond of the advent of the clouds (21). The peculi arity of टक्कका the cock is stated to be striking the insects in dirty places with his bill and legs (316). The characteristic dance of छानक, a species of the quail, is

यथा क्ष्मापातराङ्कयैकाङ्घ्रिणा नृत्यति लावकः । (389). described as: The वातमज-s, a species of antelopes, were known for their speed (68). The चमरी-s or Yaks with their young ones (तर्णक -s) are mentioned for their timidity (73). Besides the references to आख़ or rat (801), बिडाल or cat (313, 314), श्वन् or dog (313), जम्बूक or jackal (386), हिंग or मृग or deer (303, 573), सिंह or lion (573), शार्दल or tiger (314), शुक्रर or swine and ordinary elephants (21) 613 etc.), we get references to the agra-s or vicious elephants (314) and the scented elephants that terrified the ordinary ones to a great extent (848). When struck with fever known as पाकल, an elephant feels quite uneasy (613). Over and above the ordinary serpents with their coils (248, 256), there are references to a cruel species of the same called दन्दश्क living in the hollow of old trees (254, 297, 367). The द्विवप snakes or those having venomous glances (696) are mentioned as losing their poisonous effect on the advent of the lustre of the gods (702). Wings are stated to grow on कीटिका-s or ants when they breathed their last (608). while the उपदेहिका-s or white-ants are observed to be wheedling out objects in their entirely, (535). Such small creatures as युका or louse, मत्कुण or bug, मकोंट or termite, लिक्ष or nit, पतङ्ग or moth, मक्षिका or fly, भृज्ञ or bee and द्श or gnat too have been mentioned in the poem (167).

Parks etc.

Inns were built generally outside the villages or towns (554). Just as there were parks inside the towns, gardens, were kept outside (5, 343, 518, 613, 761). Female gardeners looked after the same (630). There were canals in these parks and gardens for facilitating the watering of the plants, etc. (5, 292, 299, 761). Some sort of irrigation seems to have existed in the days of our author. By way of small canals or streams issuing from large lakes the soil round about was easily watered for cultivation (43, 292). Paved places supplying drinking water were also set up at intervals on public roads, which offered solace to the fatigued and scorched travellers (82).

The leaves of the प्लाश, নাল (palmyra tree), ছিলাল (marshy date tree), নলিনা (lotus-plant) and ক্রেলা (plantain) were used for preparing fans (89), while umbrellas were made with peackock's feathers (66). There is a reference to white umbrellas also, white as the autumnal clouds (66).

Music

The musical art too was in a highly developed state (232, 233, 305, 369, 469, 471, 496). There was a class of musicians regarded as dexterous in the playing upon and testing of all the four types of आतोद्य-s or musical instruments (489). In the portion under discussion, however, we get mention only of three types of instruments. The तत or stringed iustruments like the नीणा or lute were quite common (344, 398). गोश्य and नेण (flute) are the two मुन्दि or wind instruments mentioned here (219, 344). अननद or covered instruments like the दुन्द्रिम (large kettle-drum) (272, 468), the मेरी (another kind of kettle-drum) (50, 218), मृद्य (tabour) (344) and दिण्डम (drum) (45) are frequently referred to. दुन्द्रिम-s were beaten especially on festive occasions (272), while मेरी was played to indicate the starting on a journey (50, 218) and दिण्डम was generally used for public proclamations (45).

Dramaturgy

The use of such terms as नेपथ्यकर्म, नट and विनिदित speaks for the prevalence of dramaturgy (829).

Painting

We get a reference to picture-galleries also (343). The whole incident of Panditā painting dexterously on a scroll the sketch of S'rīmatī's previous lives (648) bespeaks a high state of growth of the art of painting. The picture was made vivid by the use of a variety of colours such as black, white, yellow, blue, red etc. (634). The public exhibition of such art too was not uncommon (650) and skilled connoisseurs to appreciate them were also not wanting. (653).

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Vices

Thickly populated cities had less fear from thieves and robbers than small villages (264, 580). The culprits were caught (580) and prisoners fettered (513). Adultery was another vice (580). Bribery and other wealth-produced vices too had their due share (712-14). A prince is stated to have won over the subjects through wealth and murdered his parents by burning poisonous incense in their bedroom (712-14). Such putrefaction might not have been altogether absent in the households of other wealthy persons too. The Dvādasa-pañjarikāstotra has rightly remarked:

पुत्राद्पि धनभाजां भीति : सर्वत्रैषा विहिता रीति: ।

SOME WORKS ON THE FOLK-TALE OF PANCA-DANDACCHATRA BY JAIN AUTHORS

By

S. D. Parekh, Baroda

Vikrama is the hero of folk-tales like the Vetālapañcavimsati, Simhāsanadvātrimsikā and Pañcadandacchatra. These folk-tales have been edited and published with learned introductions by wellknown scholars like Heinrich Uhle, F. Edgerton, and A. Webber. The folk-tale of Pañca, is wellknown in Western India and but several of its Sanskrit, Old Gujarati and Rajasthani versions are hitherto unknown.

This folktale of Pañca. as given by S'āmal Bhatt, an 18th century Gujarati poet, can briefiy be summarised as follows: When king Vikrama was passing through the bazaar of Ujjayanī, his servants beat a maid-servant of Damani Ghāchaṇa, who being enraged drew three lines on the ground with her abhedyadanda, a magic wand which could not be penetrated. Three walls rose up barring the way. They could not be demolished by the king's army and the king had to go to the palace by another way. Damani summoned by the king told him that he would be able to remove those walls if he could win five magic wands by fufilling five Ades'as given by her. The king agreed.

First, initiated by Damani, the king played the game of dice with Devadamani, daughter of Damani. The king won the game and married Damani.

At the second Adesa of Damani, Vikrama went to Sopāraka and stayed at the house of Somasarman and watched the conduct

amenda a man alto modizio, espero plivi principi. Espero per alto se con come alto se con come della come con c

^{1.} Uber Die Vetalpancavimsatika, in den Recensionen des Sivadasa und eines Ungenannten mit Kritischin Commentre; Leipzig, 1881.

^{2.} Vikram's Adventures, Part I, II, Harvard Oriental Series, Volumes 26, 27; 1926.

^{3. &#}x27;Pancadandachatraprabandha Ein Marchen Von Konig Vikramaditya', published in Abhandlungen Der Koniglichen Akademie Der Wissenschaften, pp. 1-101), Berlin, 1877.

^{4.} Abbreviation for 'Pañcadandacchatra'.

of his wife Umāde. The king knew that Umāde had *Udaṇadaṇḍa* and one day when Umāde performed a Tantric ceremony to give sixty-four pupils and their teacher as offering to the Yoginīs, Vikrama snatched the *Udaṇadaṇḍa*, the magic wand giving the power to fly, and ran away along with his colleagues. They all came to a city where no human being was to be found except a princess entrapped by a giant. Vikrama killed the giant and obtained *Ajitadaṇḍa*, a magic wand giving the power of invincibility.

By the third Ades'a of Damani, Vikrama went to Cambay where he killed a servant and accompanied the princess Ratnamañjarī who had eloped from the palace with her box of jewels and Abhayadanda, a magic wand which initiated courage. The king revealed his identity, married Ratnamañjarī and got the Abhayadanda from her.

Again, initiated by Damani, the king accompanied four maiden-friends - daughters of a Brahmin, a minister, a merchant and a warrior - who went to Pātāla to attend the marriage of their common friend, the daughter of a Nāga king. When they all reached Pātāla, Vikrama escaped from the female friends and married the Nāga daughter by a trick. Knowing this, the four friends married Vikrama and the daughter of the Brahmin gave the king the Viṣaharadaṇḍa.

For the fifth time, the king was asked to watch the conduct of the young wife of Dhanavanta of Ujjayanī. The king found that the young wife had illicit connection with a thief. Dhanavanta was killed by the young wife and Vikrama killed the thief. Vikrama reproached the young lady for her action but she asked the king to refer to Kochī Kandoyaṇa on the matter. Kochī showed the king that his own wife was in love with his minister. The king was annoyed to see the misbehaviour of his own wife but was consoled by Kochī who said that women were such. Kochī gave the king the Pratāpadanda (Jīnānadanda or Kāmikadanda), a magic wand having the power to win the hearts of women.

• By the power of the five magic wands, the king reduced the three walls to pieces. Indra who came to know of it sent a throne

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upon which Pañcadandacchatra, a canopy supported by the five magic wands, was fixed. The king ascended that throne on an auspicious day.

This is the general frame-work of the folk-tale. However the following works by Jain authors show that each work has its own individuality as far as the treatment and the structure of the sub-stories, language, syle of expression and the various social traditions imbibed by them are concerned.

1. Vikramāditya's Pancadandacchatraprabandha by Pūrnacandrasūri (Date of composition: Early 15th century).

This is probably the oldest available work on this folktale in Sanskrit prose. Prof. A. Weber has edited it in Roman script with introduction in German, from a single manuscript obtained from the British Museum, London (Ms. No. Addit. 26542). Because of the faulty nature of the Ms. mistakes appear in the readings of the text. This edition does not give the author's name. But on a comparision of the text of the Ms. preserved in the Oriental Institute, Baroda, it appears that the author of this work Purnacandrasuri. Further search has brought to light the following Mss. of this work: (1) Sri Hemacandrācārya Jaina Jñanamandir, Pațan, (2) Prachīna Bharatīya Samskriti Mandir, Ahmedabad. They also bear the name of Purnacandrasuri as the author of the work. The Late Shri M. D. Desais has convincingly proved that Pūrnacandrasūri belonged to the early part of the 15th century. This work in Sanskrit prose seems to be the predecessor of the work of Samal; but it differs considerably in the plot of the fourth story which may be summarised as under:

'By the Adesa of Damani, one of the ministers of Vikrama was driven out of the kingdom with his family. Calamities after calamities fell upon the family of the minister but his youngest daughter-in-law saved the family from ruin by her talent. Eventually King Vikrama was forced to reinstate the minister to his post'.

M. D. Desai, Jaina Sahitya-no Samksipta Itihāsa. (1st edition),
 p. 585, para 857.

In this work, the names of the five magic wands obtained by Vikrama are Siddhadanda or Sarvarasadanda, Vijayadanda, Viṣāpahāradanda, Ratnadanda and Manidanda.

2. Pancadandakathā by Devamūrti Upādhyāya (Date of composition: V. S. 1471=1415 A.D.)

This story is narrated in the fourth sarga of Vikramacaritram, a Sanskrit mahākāvya of fourteen sargas by Devamūrti. The Pañcadaṇḍakathā is composed in Anuṣṭubh metre and its five stories are divided into five Paricchedas. The work follows the general frame-work of the stories as outlined by Pūrṇacandrasūri. Its unpublished Ms., No. 3850 of Śrīsangha Jaina Jñānamandir, Pāṭaṇ, now merged with Śrī Hemacandrācārya Jñānamandir, Pāṭaṇ, is very interesting and possesses much poetic merit.

The names of the five magic sticks won by Vikrama according to this Kathā are Sarvarasadanda, Vajradanda or Vijayadanda, Viṣāpahāradanda, Bhūsphoṭakadanda and Manidanda.

3. Pañcadaṇḍacchatrakathā by Pandit Śubhās'īlagaṇi (Date of composition - V. S. 1490 = 1434 A.D.)

This work forms a part of Vikramacaritram, a Sanskrit mahākāvya composed in twelve sargas by Pandit Śubhaśīlagaṇi. This mahākāvya has been edited by Pandit Bhagavandas and published by Shri Hemacandrācārya Granthamālā, Ahmedabad, in two parts. The Pañcadaṇḍacchatrakathā is included in the ninth Sarga. It is divided into Devadamanipariṇayanam, Ratnapeṭānayanam, Sarvarasa and Vajradaṇḍānayanam, Matisārasya Desānnirvāsanam, and Viṣāpahāra-Bhūsphoṭa-Maṇidaṇḍānayanam.

This work is composed anustubh metre. Without indulging into any unnecessary descriptions, the poet describes the stories briefly. These stories are similar to those of Purnacandrasuri and Devamurti.

^{6.} Vikramcaritra of Subhasilagani, Part II, edited by Pandit Bhagavandas, pp., 109-155.

4. Pañcadandacchatraprabandha by an anonymous Jain author. (Date of composition: 15th century A.D.)⁷

Though the anonymous Jaina author of this work follows his predecessors, he has shown originality in the treatment of the five stories. The whole work is divided into five $K\bar{a}ryas$ as against $\bar{A}desas$ in other works. The structure of the stories and the names of the magic wands are identical with those noted above. One Daṇḍa described by Devamūrti and Subhas'īlagaṇi as Bhūsphotakadaṇḍa has been named Acalacālaṇadaṇḍa in this prose work.

The only available Ms. of this work is preserved in Śrī Hema-candrācārya Jñānamandir, Pāṭaṇ, No. 1782.

5. Pancadandacchatraprabandha by an anonymous Jain author. (Date of composition: 15th century A.D.)

This is also an unpublished work in Sanskrit prose by an unknown Jain author. It was first introduced to scholars of folklore by Dr. Sandesara.8

The only available Ms. of this work is in the Śrī Hemacandrācārya Jñānamandir, Pāṭaṇ, No. 1780. In the beginning, the author gives a short Prabandha, styled Vikramāditya-Utpatti-prabandha, which describes Vikramāditya to be the son of Gardabhasena. This is probably taken up from Kālakācāryakathā. The plot of the stories in this work does not differ from those of the above-mentioned work. The names of the magic wands in this Prabandha are given as Siddhadanḍa, Vijayadanḍa, Viṣāpahāradanḍa, Śilotpāṭanakṣamadanḍa and Ratnadanḍa. It is noteworthy that the Danḍa Śilotpāṭanakṣama in this prose-work, is described as Acalacālana in the previous Prabandha and as Bhūsphoṭaka by Devamūrti and Śubhaśilagani.

6. Pancadandātapatraprabandha by Rāmacandrasūri (Pūrnimāgacchīya). (Date of composition: V.S. 1490 = 1434 A.D.)

^{7.} This work was first noticed by Dr. B. J. Sandesara in his article, 'Apaņun Lokavārtāvisayaka Prāchina Sāhitya' in 'Itihāsa-ni Kedi', pp. 153-186.

^{8.} Ibid.

This work has profoundly influenced and has given a positive turn to many works on Pañca. in Rājasthānī and Old Gujarāti. It was first edited and published by Pandit Hiralal Hansaraja of Jāmanagar in the year 1912 A.D. under the title Pañcadandātmakam Vikramacaritram. The edition of Pandit Hiralal is edited from a single Ms. and omits many stanzas in the colophon which contain the name of the author and the date of its composition. Mss. of this work obtained from the Oriental Institute, Baroda, and Hemacandrācārya Jaina Jñānamandir, Pāṭan, contain the missing stanzas and supply the name of the author and date of the work.

It is strange that Weber who had two Mss., Nos. 1746 and 1580, of this Prabandha in his collection, did not refer to them in any way while publishing his edition of *Pancadandaprabandha*⁹ of Pūrņacandrasūrī.

This work is composed in Sanskrit in the Anustubh metre. The five stories are comprised in five Prastāvas and the Ādeša given by Damani, the Old Ghāchaṇa, is mentioned as 'Kārya' to be done by Vikrama. The author, using the data provided by the previous authors, has tried to compose the Prabandha on the style of a mahākāvya, wherein long and detailed description of cities, royal dynasties, dainty dishes, ornaments etc., occur. These descriptions has increased the dignity of the poem but has decreased the compact texture and structure of the stories and of the folkatale as a whole.

This Sanskrit work on Pañca. is remarkable for its deviation from other Sanskrit works in two ways: (1) Vikrama while passing through the bazaar of Ujjayini, heard Damani saying, "Is the King so great as to bear a royal umbrella supported by five magic wands?" The king hearing this, returned to the palace and was eager to know the mystery of the dandas. In this Prabandha Damani drew three lines on the ground with her Abhedadan da and three impenetrable walls rose up. The king and his army having

^{9.} Published in Abhandlungen Der Koniglichen Akademi Der Wissenschaften, pp. 1-101. Berlin 1877.

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failed to break through the walls, returned to the palace and called Damani to ask her of the mystery of the dandas.

- (2) The story of the minister's daughter-in-law, found in the other Sanskrit works, has been replaced by the story of *Pratāpa-daņda* or *Kāmikadaṇḍa*, which is prevalent in the Gujarāti and and Rājasthānī works.
 - 7. Pañcadanda Catuspadi by an Anonymous Jaina author (Date of composition V.S. 1556 = 1500 A.D.)

This poem in old Gujarati is in Caupaī metre. It has been edited by Dr. B. J. Sandesara. The author has followed Rāmacandrasūri and Narapati (a non-Jaina poet who has composed Pañcadandanī-Vārtā, in old Gujarati verse, in V.S. 1514=1458A.D.) in many details. The work, though short and devoid of long descriptions, forms an important link in the comparative study of the folktale of Pañca.

8. Vikrama-Pancadanda-Caupai by Laksmīvallabha (Date of composition V.S. 1728=1672 A.D.)

This is an unpublished work in old Gujarati verse, composed in Deśī metre. Though the work is remarkable for its poetic descriptions, the texture of the stories is loose. The poet, like many other authors of works on Pañca. in Old Gujarati, has closely followed of Rāmacandrasūri as far as the framework of the stories and names of the magic wands are concerned.

Mss. of this work are available in the Oriental Institute, Baroda, No. 1768, and in the S'rī Hemacandrācārya Jaina Jñānamandir, Pāṭaṇ.

9. Vikramāditya-Pancadandacchatra-caritram by Vijaya-kus'ala. The only Ms. of this work which is from the collection of Yati S'rī Hemacandrajī, lies now in the Oriental Institute, Baroda. There is no mention of the date of composition in the poem but

^{10.} B.J. Sandesara, 'Pañcadanda Catuspadi', Buddhiprakash, January, February and March 1932, Vol. 79, 16-28 and 62-75.

from the date of copying and other internal evidence in the work, we can say that this work might have been composed in the latter part of the 17th century.

The author has stated in the colophon to this work that he has imitated Ramacandrasūri's প্ৰৱ্তৱাব্দুসৰ্থ. The work is useful in the comparative study of the available works on Pañca. is concerned.

10. Pañcadandacchatra by Bhānuvijayagani (Date of composition V.S. 1830 = 1774 A.D.; the Ms. copied in V.S. 1861 = 1805 A.D.)

This is an unpublished work in old Gujarati. The Ms. of this work is obtained from Śrī Ātmārāma Jaina Jñānamandir, Baroda (No. 29). This versified tale of *Pañcadaṇḍacchatra* is a part of a bigger work Śrī Vikramādityacaritra in Old Gujarati by Bhānuvijayagaṇi. It has followed the preceding works in Old Gujarati regarding the contents of the stories, names of the magic wands and other details.

Two more works on Pañca. are known:

- 11. Vikramakathā by Māladeva in Rājasthānī, two Mss. of which are available at the V.V. Research Institute, Hoshiarapur (Punjab).
- 12. Vikrama Pañcadandacaupaī in Rājasthānī by Siddhasena, a Ms. of which is available in the Sarasvati Bhandār, Udaipur (Rajasthan).

Some of the non-Jain works which have been written on this theme are: 1. Vikramāditya-Pañcadandacchatraprabandha, in Sanskrit prose, by an unknown author (D.C. before V.S. 1465), 2. Pañcadanda-nī Vārtā, in old Gujarati verse, by Narapati (D.C.: V.S. 1514 = 1458 A.D.), 3. Pañcadandātapacchatra, in Sanskrit verse, by Trivikrama (D.C.: V.S. 1573 = 1516 A.D.), 4. Vikramaprabandha, in Old Gujarati verse, by Rājadhara (D.C.: V.S. 1621 = 1565 A.D.), 5. Pañcadandakathā, in Old Gujarati prose by an unknown author (D.C.: V.S. 1738 = 1682 A.D.), 6. Pañcadanda, in Old Gujarati verse by an unknown author (D.C.: Early part of the 18th

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century A.D.), 7. Pancadanda, in Old Gujarati verse by S'āmal (D.C. 1779 = 1727 A.D.).

Important as these non-Jaina works are for elucidating and interpreting the folk-tale, they are not studied here in detail as they are beyond the of scope of the present survey.

The stories of this folk-tale have developed through the motifs of magical miracles like the magic wand, white and black magical collyrium and magic pills. Prostitution, knowledge of the language of birds and beasts, entering another's body and deceitful wives are other important motifs. It is interesting to note that the magic of ancient times wrought by Mantras, changed its medium into collyrium, string, pills, stick and so on. Even today a magician keeps a stick (Danda) in his hand while the performance is going on.

The magic wand is the important motif around which the stories of this folktale are woven. The names of the magic wands are suggestive; the name Siddhadanda can be inferred to be connected with the Tantric practices of mediaeval and ancient India. Sarvarasadanda can be associated with Alchemy, Rasaśāstra. In the old Sanskrit works on Pañca, Siddhadanda and Sarvarasadanda are described as identical; this seems to indicate that in ancient times tantric and alchemic learning were studied together. Udanadanda and Vijayadanda (Vajradanda or Ajitadanda) can be interpreted as the activity of ancient Indians carrying on trade with foreign countries by ships. Udanadanda is the symbol of the innate desire of human beings to fly, but the places where the characters in Panca. fly suggest the prevalence of trade with South-East Asia. Vijayadanda or Ajitadanda possibly symbolises the desire also of conquest: The story of Vikrama going to Kataha Dvīpa for gaining Vijayadanda, might have its roots in the belief of Prince Vijaya who went to Jāvā. Kaṭāha Dvīpa referred to in this story is the Kedaha island which is situated near Sumatrā. In all, this motif of Vijayadanda can be interpreted as the reflection of the relations of Western India with South-East Asian countries. The Pratapadanda or Kamikadanda represents the symbol of the institution of prostitution, as Kochī Kandoyana, the princess of Cambay (Ratnamañjarī, the princess of Cambay is described as the friend of five-hundred Paṇyāṅganās¹¹, prostitutes, in old Sanskrit works of Pañca.) and the prostitute of Ratanpur in whose hands Ratnamañjarī was entrapped - all represent the institution of prostitution. Viṣāpahāra or Viṣaharadaṇḍa cannot be satisfactorily explained. Vikrama went to Nāgaloka, Pātāla. Nāgas have been described as living human beings in Pañca. and not as serpents having poison. So, Viṣaharadaṇḍa was not needed in Nāgaloka. However, considering the well-known aspect of Nāgas as poisonous beings, Viṣaharadaṇḍa may be explained as an anti-poison wand.

From the sociological and anthropological data supplied, it can be said that this folktale preserves some of our traditions of the greatness of Ujjain in Malwa, the flourishing conditions of ports like Tamraliptā and Sopārā, and also various mediaeval institutions and beliefs.

Two words used in the Sanskrit works of this folktale, viz., gānchika and cangerī are significant. Gānchika is found only in the works on Panca. and nowhere else in Sanskrit or Prakrit literature. It is not a Sanskrit word but seems to be the back-formation of a word used in an ancient dialect. It means one who knows the profession of basket-making and one who prepares various articles from bamboo. The word can be derived from Kīcaka, a variety of bamboo, available in South China.

Cangerī means a small basket used for carrying flowers. Dr. R. L. Turner has noted this word in his Nepalese Dictionary. The word can possibly be derived from Karaka (a bowl used by Buddhist monks) associated with the Buddhist works on Tantra.

^{11.} Monier-Williams, in his Sanskrit-English Dictionary has given the meaning of Panyānganā as a poison-damsel, a prostitute.

INTRODUCTION OF ŚĀSANADEVATĀS IN JAINA WORSHIP

By

Umakant Premanand Shah, Baroda

In Jaina iconography, before the Gupta age, or more correctly before the end of the fifth century A.D., we do not find any attendant Yakşa and Yakşī accompanying any Tīrthankara; nor do we find separate sculptures of any S'āsanadevatā which can with confidence be assigned to a period before c. 500 A.D.

Tirthankara sculptures which can be definitely assigned to the Gupta age are very few. A headless statue of Mahāvīra in the Lucknow Museum, inscribed and dated in the Gupta year 113, is perhaps the only known Jaina sculpture of the Gupta age, bearing a date, discovered hitherto. It does not show the Sasanadevatās on the pedestal. Some finer specimens like J. 104 and 0.181, in the same Museum, or B.6 & B.33 in Mathura Museum, though not inscribed, can be assigned to the Gupta age or late Gupta age on the evidence of style.

A seated figure of Neminātha on the Vaibhara hill, Rajgir, published by R. P. Chanda, A. S. I. Ann. Rep. for 1925-26, pp. 125 ff. pl. lvi. b, bears a fragmentary inscription, in Gupta characters, referring to Candragupta (the second). This is the earliest specimen assignable to a fairly accurate date, showing the introduction of the cognizance of a Jina, but has no figures of S'āsanadevatās.

None of the Tīrthankara sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa period show on their pedestals either the recognizing symbols of Jinas or the Yakṣa pair, even though Yakṣa Kubera or a two-armed Yakṣī, a prototype of Ambikā, were known and were probably worshipped separately as Yakṣa-deva or Yakṣī-devī but not as an attendant (Yakṣa) or a S'āsana-devatā.

The Agama texts are silent about attendant Yakşa pairs. Even the Kalpasūtra which could have referred to them is completely

silent about S'āsanadevatās and the Lānchanas of Jinas. Nagative evidence is generally inconclusive, but since both literature and archaeology have hitherto not shown any evidence to the contrary, one can safely assume that the S'āsanadevatās were not evolved before c. 500 A.D.

An interesting beautiful bronze of standing Rṣabhanātha, discovered from Akoṭā, is perhaps the earliest known Jaina image which shows S'āsanadevatās accompanying a Tīrthankara. The inscription on the back of its pedestal shows that the bronze "belonged to" (was in the possession of, or was installed by) Jinabhadra Vācanācārya. The present writer published a photo of the Yakṣī Ambikā, accompanying Rṣabhanātha in this bronze, in the Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, No. 1, and the whole image with inscription was published in Jaina Satya Prakāsa, Vol. 17. Recently the image is published in the Saga of Indian Sculpture, plate 47, and in my book on the Art of the Akoṭā Bronzes, published from Bombay.

The inscription on the back of the images reads, "Om devadharmo = yam niv (r) ti Kobe Jinabhadra Vācanācāryyasya," and is written in the Brāhmī script of c. 550 A.D. I have discussed the identification of this Jinabhadra in Jaina Satya Prakāsa, op. cit., and shown that since on the evidence of Kahāvālī, Vācanācārya, Divākara, Kṣamās'ramaṇa, Vādī etc., are Ekārthavācī terms, Jinabhadra Vācanācārya of the inscription can be identified with Jinabhadra Gaṇi Kṣamās'ramaṇa. Even otherwise there would be the possibility of Jinabhadra being first called Vācanācārya and later called Kṣamās'ramaṇa. Pandit Dalsukhbhai Malavaniya, in his learned introduction to the translation of Gaṇadharavāda, has advanced further arguments in support of the above identification. The script of the inscription also supports the identification, as it belongs to the age in which Jinabhadra Gaṇi Kṣmās'ramaṇa, the famous author of Viseṣāvasyaka-Bhāṣya etc., lived.

Now, in this bronze we find a Kubera-like Yakşa and a twoarmed Ambikā being shown as attendant Yakşa and Yakşī of Rṣabhanātha. In my paper on Ambikā, published in 1940 (Journal of the University of Bombay), I had shown that at Ellora and other places we find only this Yaksa pair. In sculptures and bronzes, at least upto about the end of the ninth century A.D., we find only this pair. I have also shown that the pair accompanies several Tīrthankaras like Rṣabhanātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra, even though in later literature and art, the Kubera-like Yaksa and Ambikā are Śāsanadevatās of Neminātha only. It is quite clear that sometime after c. 900 A.D., or even later, the different pair of Śāsanadevatās were evolved.

The period of transition from the Gupta age to the middle ages, i. e. from the end of the sixth century A.D. to C. 11th century A.D., is a period of new impetus to Tantrism in all the three main Indian sects, namely, Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism. This brought into existence worship of new deities and additions to the existing number of iconographic varieties of old ones. The new activity continued even upto at least the thirteenth century A.D. which period (6th - 7th to 13th century A.D.) has witnessed temple building activity on a large scale all over India. The earlier simplicity of forms in architecture and sculpture was replaced by complex forms overloaded with ornamental details. Gods and Goddesses who had two or four arms multiplied so much so that we have conceptions of deities like the thousand-armed Avalokites'vara!

The different sects vied with one another in the race for multiplication of their respective pantheons and mystifying their rituals with complex details. Jainism, which has shown greater conservatism than other sects in preserving their ācāra-vidhi, was also obliged to introduce new deities, though, of course, subordinate to the Tirthankaras, or to compose Tantric works like the Jvālinī-kalpa or the Bhairava-Padmāvatī-Kalpa. The Acāra-Dinakara of Vardhamāna Sūri is a product of this spirit, and was composed in 1468 V.S. (1411 A.D.). The Nirvāṇakalikā, composed in the mediaeval period but ascribed to Pādaliptasūri, and the Pratiṣṭhūsāroddhāra of Ās'ādhara were also composed under this influence.

It was in the beginning of this transitional age that the first Yakşa-pair (Kubera-like Yakşa whom I propose to address

tentatively as Sarvanubhūti of the Snatasya-Stuti' of the Pañca-Pratikramana, and two-armed Ambikā made their first appearance as the attendant Yaksa pair par-excellence, common to all the Tirthankaras. Early specimens of Ambika, hitherto known, came from the Meguti temple, Aihole, in the Dharwar district,² Mahudi on the Sabarmati, North Gujarat, Dhank in Saurastra, or on B. 78 & B. 75 in the Mathura Museum⁵. But these belonged to an age not earlier than the seventh century A. D. The discovery of the Akota hoard pushed back the introduction of Ambika Yakşı in Jainism to at least the sixth century A.D. as evidenced by a bronze of Ambikā with an inscription assignable to C 550-600 A.D., and by the bronze of Rsabhanatha installed by Jinabhadra, 6a discussed above, both the bronzes belonging to the Akota hoard. The earliest descriptions of the two-armed Ambika known hitherto,

1. निष्पद्भव्योमनीलयुतिमलसदशं वालचन्द्राभदंष्ट्रं मत्तं घण्टार्वेण प्रसृतमद्जलं पूरयन्तं समन्तात्। आरूढो दिव्यनागं विचरति गगने कामदः कामरूपी यक्ष: सर्वातुभूतिर्दिशतु मम सदा सर्वकार्येषु सिद्धिम् ॥

प्रतिक्रमणसूत्र with प्रबोधटीका, vol. III, p. 170

Also cf. U. P. Shah, 'A Female Chaurie-Bearer From Akotā', Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, no. 1.

- 2. Cousens, H., Chalukyan Architecture, Pl. IV. The sculpture is assignable to the seventh century A.D.
- 3. Annual Report, Department of Archaeology, Baroda State, 1939, pp. 6 ff.
- 4. H. D. Sankalia, 'Earliest Jaina Soulplure in Kathiawar,' Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London; July, 1938, pp. 426 ff. In an article in the Jaina Satya Prakāśa (Guj., Ahmedabad), Vol. IV. nos. 1-2, Dr. Sankalia tries to give them an early age, but the reliefs are certainly not earlier than c. 7th century A.D.
- 5. Vogel's Catalogue of Sculptures in the Mathura Museum. A seventh century relief is also found at Chitaral in the old Travancore State (now Kerala), see, Bauddha and Jaina Vestiges in the Travancore State, Travaneore Archaeological Series, II. part 2, pp. 115 ff., pl. V.
- 6. Journal of Indian Museums, vol. VIII. pp. 50 ff., fig.
- 6a. See U. P. Shah, Akotā Bronzes.

came from the Caturvimsatikā of Bappabhatti Sūri¹ (c. 800-895 V.S.) and the Harivamsa³ of Jinasena (783 A.D.). Jinasena also refers to Apraticakrā in the same verse in which Ambikā is referred to. But since Apraticakrā is also known as a Vidyādevī in ancient Jaina texts, it is not certain that in the age of Harivamsa, Cakreśvarī was already introduced as the Śāsana Yakṣī of Rṣabhanātha. There is no sculpture of this age showing Cakreśvarī as the Yakṣī of Rṣabhadeva found associated with Ambikā.

Earlier references to Ambikā come from the Lalitavistaratīkā of Haribhadra Suri. An Ambā Kūsmāndī Vidyā has been referred to by the same writer in his tīkā on the Āvasyakaniryukti, v. 931, (p. 411). In both these cases, however, neither the Vāhana nor the symbols are described.

But a still earlier reference is from a Ms. recently discovered by Agamaprabhākara Muni Shri Punyavijayaji which seems to settle the age of the introduction of Ambikā Yakṣī. A Ms. of Viseṣāvasyaka Mahābhāṣya with Kṣamāsramaṇa - Mahattarīya-ṭīkā gives the following reference on folio 226: यहिमन्मन्त्रदेवता स्त्री सा विद्या अम्बाकूष्माण्ड्यादि:।

- 7. जिनवचिस कृतार्था संश्रिता कम्रभाभ्रं

 समुदितसुमनस्कं दिव्यसौदामनीरुक् ।

 दिशतु सततमम्बा भूतिपुष्पात्मकं नः

 समुदितसुमनस्का दिव्यसौदामनीरुक् ॥ ८८ ॥

 सिंहेऽसिं हेलयाऽलं जयित खरनखैर्नीतिनिष्ठेऽतिनिष्ठे

 ग्रुक्ते ग्रुक्तेशनाशं दिशति ग्रुभकृतौ पण्डितेऽखण्डिते खम् ।

 याते या तेजसाद्धा तिडिदित जलदे भाति धाराऽतिधारा

 पत्यापस्यापनीयानमुदितसमपराद्धर्याधमं बाधमम्बा ॥ ९६ ॥

 Caturvinsatikā, ed. by H. B. Kapadia, pp. 143, 162.
- 8. गृहीतचकाऽप्रतिचकदेवता तथोर्ज्यन्तालयसिंहवाहिनी । शिवाय यहिमन्निह सन्निधीयते क तत्र विद्याः प्रभवन्ति शासने ॥ Harivamsa, (M. D. Granthamālā, Bombay), Vol. II, sarga 66, v 44.

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Here Ambā-Kūṣmāṇḍī is referred to as a Vidyā. But since we do not find Ambā or Kuṣmāṇḍī in the list of the sixteen chief Vidyās, it is very likely that this refers to the Vidyā-Sādhana of the same goddess Ambikā which accompanied the different Tīrthankaras and which later came to be worshipped as the Sāsanadevatā of Neminātha.

Thus we obtain both literary and archaeological evidence for Ambikā, assignable to the sixth century A.D. No earlier evidence is known hitherto. It is also interesting to note that both these evidences are associated with Jinabhadra Gaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa. The above quotation is from Jinabhadra's own incomplete commentary on his famous Viśeṣāvasyaka Mahābhāṣya. We might, therefore, safely say that Ambikā Yakṣī was introduced in Jaina worship sometimes in the sixth century A.D. or at the earliest in c. 500 A.D. It is not possible to push back this upper limit of the introduction of Ambikā in the present stage of our knowledge, since all Tirthankara sculptures assignable to an age prior to c. 500 A.D. do not show the Yakṣa pair nor do we find any loose sculpture of Ambikā which can be placed before c. 500 A.D.

But when were the 24 Yakşas and Yakşinis introduced? The earliest list of these Śāsanadevatās is obtained from the Abhidhāna Cintamani of Hemacandra and their iconographic forms are given in the Trisastisalākāpurusacaritra of the same writer. Nirvānakalikā of Pādalipta, ascribed to the famous Pādaliptācārya of c. 2nd century A.D., also gives such lists. As the Pravacanasāroddhāra-fīkā (V.S. 1248) refers to it, the lower limit for Nirvāņakalikā is 1191 A.D. The work however seems to have been composed in the eleventh or twelth century A.D. The colophon shows that the author belonged to the Vidyadhara-kula and the work was by Pādalipta, grandpupil of Sangamasimha. A Sangamasiddhamuni died by fasting on Mt. Śatruñjaya and his pupil installed an image of Pundarika Ganadhara in the teacher's memory in V.S. 1064. A Sangamasimha composed a hymn which referred to the Vimala Vasahi at Abu, erected in V.S. 1088. The teacher of the author of Nirvānakalikā was possibly one of these two Sangamasimhas. The treatment of the different sections of Nirvāṇakalikā, e.g., the Ekāśītipadavāstu, shows that the work belongs to an age of Brahmanical influence in the Jaina Tantra.

The Prākṛt Kahāvalī of Bhadreśvara Sūri is supposed to be a work of one Bhadreśvara Sūri who lived in the 12th century A.D. But the language clearly shows that it is more near to the language of the Cūrṇis. I have shown in a separate article in Jaina Satya Prakāsa, Vol. XVII. no. 4 (January, 1959), pp. 90-91, that the work is earlier than the 12th century A.D. In this work in the Sthavirāvalī portion we find:

जो उण मह्यवाई व पुन्वगयावगही खमापहाणो समणो सो खमासमणो नाम जहा आसी इह संपयं देवळाय (देवळोयं) गओ जिणभद्दि(१द्द)गणि खमासमणो ति र(यि)याइं च तेण विसेसावस्त्रय-विसेसणवईसत्थाणि जेषु केवळनाणदंसणवियारावसरे पयिष्याभिष्पाओ सिद्धसेनदिवायरो।

Thus the author of Kahāvalī cannot be removed from Jinabhadra Gaṇi Kṣamās'ramaṇa by about six centuries, if he talks of Jinabhadra as one who was 'lately' (recently or better 'now') dead. Jinabhadra being very famous, at the most an author writing about a couple of centuries later can use the word संवं — साम्प्रतम्. This would mean that Kahāvalī was composed not later than the eighth century A.D.

This work refers to the S'āsanadevatās in the portions dealing with the lives of the different Tīrthankaras. This would show that in c. 8th century A.D., the S'āsanadevatās were already introduced in Jaina worship. Archaeological evidence does not support it. No sculpture from any part of India assignable to this age shows the different Yakṣās or Yakṣinīs. The only early sets of the different Yakṣās, known hitherto, come from the Navamuni cave, Orissa, and the Temple No. 12, Devagadh fort, Madhya Pradesh. The Navamuni cave is assigned to the ninth century A.D. and the reliefs probably belong to the same age or are slightly later. The Devagadh set bears incribed labels, the characters of which are roughly assigned to c. 9th-10th century A.D. We might, therefore, say that the earliest known archaeological evidence for the 24 different Yakṣīs does not date prior to the ninth century A.D.

The only available Ms. of Kahāvalī is dated 1494 V.S. and is full of errors in transcription. These errors show that the scribe had before him a Ms. which he could not properly decipher. He, therefore, used a fairly old Ms. wherein the modern Nagari characters were not fully developed. If the passages regarding the Śāsanadevatās are genuine, then either we accept that they were introduced in c. 8th century A.D. or that the Kahāvalī dates from the 9th rather than the 8th century A.D. We might arrive at a tentative compromise by assigning Kahāvalī to c. 800 A.D. and for the present regard the references as genuine and not added by a later scribe or reviser.

It must however be acknowledged that the different Yakṣīs did not become popular in temple worship before c. 1000 A.D. and even later. This is proved by the fact that on a number of pedestals of Tīrthankara sculptures in the different cells at Delvāḍā, Mt. Abu, and in the Jaina shriness at Kumbhāriā, we find Ambikā (2 or 4 armed) and 2 or 4 armed Yakṣa, either like Kubera, (Sarvānubhūti), or evolved from the form of Kubera. This is in fact a stage in the evolution of the worship of twentyfour different S'āsanadevatās. The practice lingered on even after Hemacandra (who refers to quite different forms) as proved by the archaeological evidence of Abu and Kumbhāriā noted above.

At Devagadh the following stages are marked: One replaced the old Yakṣī (Ambikā) for Tīrthankaras other than Neminātha and inserted a two-armed Yakṣī showing abhaya (or varada) mudrā and a pot or a citron; the other was the evolution of all the twenty-four different Yakṣīs with a different iconography and new names as in Temple no. 12. In this set some forms are of better work-manship than others. Each Yakṣī is represented as standing on a separate slab, and above her is a figure of a Jina whose S'āsanadevatā she is supposed to be. Names of the Jina as well as his Yakṣī are inscribed on each slab. It is not known whether the labels are of the same age as the sculptures since it is difficult to assign a roughly accurate date either to the sculptures or to the Devanagari characters of the labels, the characters being in a stage of evolution which still awaits scientific palaeographical study.

But they may tentatively be regarded as of the same age, c. 950 A.D. or a little earlier.

The Tiloyapannatti gives a list of twentyfour Yakṣīs, the names being different from the lists of the Devagadh set or of the Pratisthāsāroddhāra. The age of this portion of the Tiloyapannatti is uncertain and the list is probably later than the time of the original Tiloyapannatti. The reference to Bālacandra Saiddhāntika in Tiloyapannatti, also suggests the same thing.

The following comparative tables showing names of Yakṣīs according Devagadh Temple 12 set (DT), Tiloyapaṇṇatti (TP), Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra (PS), and Hemacandra's Triṣaṣṭisalākā-puruṣacaritra (HT) may be useful:—

	Jina	DT	TPic	PS	HT
1.	Ŗṣabha	Cakreśvarī	Cakreśvarī	Cakreśvari	Cakres'varī
2.	Ajita	A GOART	Rohiņī	Rohiņī	Ajitā
3.	Sambhava	And	Prajnapti	Prajnapti or Namrā	Duritāri
4.	Abhi- nandana	Sarasvatī	Vajraśṛṅ- khalā	Vajrašṛṅkha- lā or Duri- tāri	Kāligā
5.	Sumati		Vajrānkus'ī	Khadgavarā or Mohinī	Mahakali
6.	Padma- prabha	Sulocanā	Apraticakrā		S'yāmā
7.	Supārśva	lugas III. - Banana A	Purușadattă	Kālī or Mānavī	Śantā
8.	Candra- prabha	Sumālinī	Manovega	Jvalinī	Bhrukuṭī
9.	Pușpadanta	Bahurūpī	Kālī	Mahākālī- Bhrukuţī	Sutārakā
10.	Śītala	S'riyadevī	Jvālāmālinī 💮	Mānavī or Cāmuņḍā	Aśokā

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	Jina	DT	TP	PS	HT		
11.	S'reyāmsa	Vahni-devī	Mahākālī	Gaurī or Gome- dhakī	Mānavī		
12.	Vasupūjya	Ābhoga- rohiņī	Gaurī	Gandhārī or Vidyun- malinī	Caṇḍā		
13.	Vimala	Sulakșaņā	Gāndhārī	Vairotī Vidyādevī	Viditā		
14.	Ananta	Anantavīryā	Vairotyā	Anantamali- Kumbhinī	Ańkuśā		
15.	Dharma	Surakșită	Anantamatī	Mānasī Parabhṛtā	Kandarpā		
16.	Śānti	Śriyadevī or Ananta- vīryā	Mānasī	Mahāmānasā- Kandarpā	Nirvāņī		
17.	Kunthū	Arakarabhī	Mahāmānasī	Jaya- Gandharinī	Balā		
18.	Ara	Tārādevī	Jaya	Tārāvatī- Kālī	Dhāriņī		
19.	Malli	Bhīmadevī	Vijayā	Aparājitā- Manjulā	Vairotyā (Dhāraṇa- priyā)		
20.	Maņisuvrata		Aparājitā	Bahurūpiņī- Sugandhinī	Naradattā		
21.	Nami		Bahurūpiņī	Cāmuṇḍā- Kusuma- mālinī	Gāndhārī		
22.	Nemī	Ambāyikā	Kūşmāṇḍinī	Āmra-Kūṣ- māṇḍinī	Ambikā		
23.	Pārs/va	Padmāvatī	Padmā	Padmāvatī	Padmāvatī		
24.	Mahāvīra	Aparājitā	Siddhayinī	Siddhayinī	Siddhayikā		

At Pithaura, Nagod State, is a shrine of Pattaini-devī, where the goddess Ambikā is accompanied by small figures of the other 23 Yaksinīs on the three sides. The names of these Yaksinīs are10:-Bahurupinī, Cāmundā, Sarasvatī, Padmāvatī, Vijayā, Aparājitā, Mahāmānasī, Anantamatī, Gāndhārī, Mānasī, Jvālāmālinī, Bhausī, Vajras'rnkhalā, Bhānujā (?), Jayā, Anantamatī, Vairotyā, Gaurī, Mahākāli, Kālī, Budhadaghī (?), Prajāpatī (?), Bahinī (?). Obviously, the small inscribed labels could not be read properly, but the list seems to be generally akin to the list of Tiloyapannatti which seems to represent a stage between the Deogarh set and the Pratisthāsāroddhāra. At Deogarh, a fourarmed loosed sculpture of Yaksi Sarasvati and another of Sumalini are also obtained. Since both are dated in the year 1070 A.D., it may be presumed that the Deogarh Temple 12 set is earlier than 1070 A.D. The list of Yakşas and Yakşinīs given by the TP cannot be assigned to c. 6th century A.D., which is the date assigned to this work by the learned editor. The original text has definitely undergone certain additions and its evidence has to be treated with caution.

Literary traditions of both the sects, show that by c. 12th century A.D., the lists of the various Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs were finalised in both the Jaina sects.

It is noteworthy that in the Digambara lists of Aśādhara and others, names of the Yakṣiṇīs are borrowed from the sixteen principal Vidyādevīs since the lists of Vidyādevīs are earlier in age the above conclusion is inevitable.

Comparisons of the different Yakṣiṇīs with deities of the Buddhist and Hindu pantheon would be highly interesting. It will be seen that the Jaina lists contain names which are distinctly Hindu, for example, Brahma-yakṣa, Nandi, Kumāra, Ṣaṇmukha, Varuṇa, Īśvara, Caṇḍā, Cāmuṇḍā, Kālī, Mahākālī and Gaurī. The iconography, however, as described in the Jaina and Hindu texts, often differs, but the borrowings are unmistakable. Sometimes the Hindu name is retained, sometimes the Hindu iconogra-

^{10.} Annual Report, Western Circle, Arch. Survey of India, for the year ending 1920.

phical traits with a different name are marked out. In the latter type of borrowing, sometimes both the Hindu and the Jaina might have borrowed or evolved from the earlier gods and goddesses worshipped in India. Since the Jaina lists are much later, the conclusions that in many of the above cases the Jainas have borrowed from the Hindus, is justified.

Of Buddhist influence we have a few cases only, in Tārādevī, Vajraśrnkhalā and Vajrānkus/ā.

Why was this borrowing done? To obtain a following, to attract the people into its fold, a sect had to show the superiority of its deities over the deities of the other sects. Mahayana Buddhism did this by showing their gods trampling or riding over the Hindu Gods: the Jainas were not so cruel or discourteous and they were satisfied with assigning a subordinate position to the Hindu deities by making them the attendant Yaksinis. It is impossible for a sect to gather strength without incorporating in one form or the other the beliefs and practices of the masses. The Jainas, as the march of history through the ages shows us, had to meet strong Saivite opposition which made it necessary for them to show the superiority of their gods and goddesses over those of the Hindus. Sometimes the Tirthankara was hailed as Isana, Vamadeva, Tatpuruşa or Aghora as has been done by the author of the Adipurana in the 8th century A.D. The Vedic Indra was assigned the function of celebrating the different kalyanakas of the Tirthankaras. But the idea of an Indra as a ruler of gods was extended and as many as sixtyfour Indras grew up among whom Is/anendra is noteworthy. Sakra or Saudharmendra is clearly the Vedic Sahasrākşa Indra while the description of Isanendra shows that he is none else than Siva. At a later stage the Bhairavas and Yoginīs and even Gaņes'a had to be included in Jaina worship.

TARKABHĀṢĀ-VARTTIKA OF S'UBHAVIJAYAGAŅI (17th cent. a.d.)

By

Jitendra S. Jetly, Ahmedabad

The Tarka-bhāsā-Vārttika of Śubhavijayagani is an important Tain work on Kes'ava Mis'ra's Tarkabhāsā. Manuscripts of this Vārttika are available in different Tain Bhandaras. Of these I have been able to make use of the Ms. at the Śrī Jaina Ātmānanda Sabhā, Bhavnagar. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has noted this work in his list of the commentaries on Tarkabhāsā but has not been able to discover its author. Subhavijayagani is also the author of Haimamālābījaka, Kāvyakalpalatāvrtti called Makaranda, Syādvādabhāsā with a Vārttika on it and a commentary on Kalpasūtra. He wrote his Vārttika on Tarkabhāṣā in VS 1663. (1607 A.D.). From the colophon of the Ms, we know that he was a pupil of Hīravijayasūri who was honoured by the Moghal Emperor His Vārttika was revised by Padmasāgaragani in VS Akbar. 1665 (1609 A.D.)2.

- 1. Jaina Sāhitya no Ithihāsa, p. 594
- 2. प्रति [प्रति] गौतमतो जंस्वा [लब्धा] प्रति [प्रति] प्रजसामिनश्च विबुधगुरोः । विनयवैराग्यादिभिरभवन् हीरविजयाख्याः ॥ १ ॥ कलिकालकुमतकरमलप्रक्षालनवारिवातसङ्काशाः । श्रीमदकवरभूपतिप्रतिबोधविधानेन विख्याताः ॥ २ ॥ तत्पदपद्ममधुपप्रतिमेन विनयलेशेन । धुभविजयाभिधशिशुना विहितं वार्तिकं सुकरम् ॥ ३ ॥ विशिखरसरसेन्दुमिते (१६६५) वर्षे हर्षे हर्षेण विक्रमार्कन्तृपात् । समपूर्वमूरिकीर्तिप्रमदापाणिप्रहणसाधोः ॥ ४ ॥ समप्रति च विजयमानप्रतिजनचूडामणेस्तु गुरुकरणेः । श्रीविजयसेनस्रेः पृशेदयशैलगगनमणेः ॥ ५ ॥ श्रीविजयसेनस्रेः पहोदयशैलगगनमणेः ॥ ५ ॥ श्रीविजयदेवस्रोः सन्देशात् प्रसादसम्पत्तः । श्रीपद्मसागरगणिभिः पण्डतशिरोरत्नैः ॥ ६ ॥

S'ubhavijayagani follows the method of previous Jain Ācāryas like Jinavardhana and puts the subject matter in a lucid and intelligible form. The following passage which comes after mangala will amply bear this out:

श्रीपार्श्वनाथपादाब्जमभिनोन्य भक्तितः। तन्यते तर्कभाषाया वार्तिकं वालगुद्धये॥ १॥

तत्र वालानां सुखेन शास्त्रप्रवेशार्थमादौ कानिचित्रक्षणानि लक्षणदोषरहितानि उच्यन्ते । तान्येव पदान्युपादेयानि यान्यतिन्याप्त्यन्यपत्यसम्भवदोषनिवारकाणि भवेयुरित्युक्तेः पूर्वं तान्येव दर्शयति ।

अलक्षणे लक्षणगमनमतिन्याप्तिः । लक्ष्यैकदेशे लक्षणस्यावर्तनमन्याप्तिः । लक्ष्ये क्वापि लक्षणस्यावर्तनमसम्भवः ।

उदाहरणानि यथा—दिखरावत्त्वं गोत्विमित्यत्र गोर्लक्षणं दिखरावत्त्वम् । तचालक्ष्ये मिह्णादौ यातीत्यतिन्यातिः । शावलेयत्वं गोत्विमित्यत्र गोर्लक्षणं शावलेयत्वम् । तच लक्ष्यैकदेशे श्वेतगवादौ न यातीत्यन्याप्तिः । एकखरावत्त्वं गोत्विमित्यत्र गोर्लक्षणमेकखरा-वत्त्वम् । न च लक्ष्ये गवि क्वापि न यातीत्यसम्भवः ।

हेती तान्येव पदान्युपादेयानि यानि व्यभिचारदोषनिवारकाणि भवेयुः । स च व्यभिचारो देघा । अन्वयव्यभिचारो व्यतिरेकव्यभिचारश्च । तत्र सित सद्भावोऽन्वयः, यथा सित दण्डे घटोत्पत्तिः । असत्यसद्भावो व्यतिरेकः, यथा दण्डाभावे
घटाभावः । ताभ्यां हेतुसत्त्वे साध्यासत्त्वं व्यभिचारो यथा कादम्बर्यादौ मङ्गलहेतौ सित साध्यरूपायाः समाप्तेरसत्त्वेनान्वयव्यभिचार इति । 'समाप्तिर्मङ्गलजन्या समाप्तित्वात्'
इत्यत्र प्रमत्तनास्तिकाचनुष्टितकर्मसमाप्तौ समाप्तित्वे हेतौ सित मङ्गलजन्यत्वं साध्यते
मृग्यते । परं मङ्गलाजन्यत्वमेव साध्यमस्तीति व्यतिरेकव्यभिचार इति ।

तद्रितित्वे सित तदितरावर्तित्वमसाधरणधर्मत्विमिति । अत्र वर्तते इत्ययं शीलो वर्ती, वर्ती[र्ति]नो भावो वर्तित्वम् । तस्मिन् गिव वर्तित्वम् , तिस्मिन् तद्वित्वे सित । पुनस्तच्छव्देन गौः, तस्माद् इतरे घटाद्यः, तेषु अवर्तित्वं तिद्तरावर्तित्वम् , यथा गिव सास्नादिमत्त्वमिति ।

तजन्यत्वे सित तजन्यजनकोऽवान्तरच्यापारः इत्यत्र तच्छब्देन दण्डः, तेन जन्यो श्रमिस्तजन्यः, तस्य भावस्तजन्यत्वम् , तिस्मिन् तज्जन्यत्वे सित । पुनस्तच्छब्देन दण्डः तेन जन्यो घटः, तस्य जनको श्रमिरेव अवान्तरच्यापारः । तद्वति तत्प्रकारकताज्ञानं यथार्थज्ञानिकत्यत्र तच्छब्देन तद्विद्यते यस्यासौ तद्वान् घटः, तिस्मिन् तद्वित घटत्ववित घटे।

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पुनस्तच्छब्देन घटत्वम् , तदेव प्रकारो यस्मिन् ज्ञाने तत् तत्प्रकारकं ज्ञानम् । प्रकारकत्वं नाम भ[स्व]समानवैशिष्ट्यप्रतियोगित्वमिति ।

This passage enables us to note a peculiarity of Śubhavijaya's method. He introduces the subject to the beginner by explaining first the useful definitions of some technical words like अन्याप्ति, अतम्मन, अन्वयन्यभिचार, न्यतिरेकन्यभिचार, असाधारण-धर्मत्व, यथार्थज्ञान, विशेषण, उपलक्षण and अन्यूनानतिरिक्तधमिचन्छेदकत्व। In his explanation he uses the easiest language possible. This type of introduction for beginners should be considered Śubhavijaya's own peculiar method because generally commentators leave this work to the teachers. Śubhavijaya is an exception to this.

Then in the following lines he begins the commentary with a discussion of Mangalavada:

अथ पूर्वाचार्या थिं स्त्रिविधं मङ्गलं प्रोक्तमस्ति, मानसिकं, वाचिकं कायिकं चेति । तच्चेदं शास्त्रादौ नोपलभ्यते इत्याशक्य प्रश्नयति यथाऽन्य [त्र] तु प्रन्थारम्भेऽभिमत-प्रन्थसमाप्त्यथं मङ्गलाचरणं कर्तव्यमिति शिष्टोक्तेः । अयमपि केशविमश्रिशिष्टो भवति । अतः स्वस्य शिष्टतासंरक्षणार्थं प्रमाणप्रयोजनवत् मङ्गलं कर्तव्यम् । तदिह न द्रयते । प्रमाणप्रयोजनवदिति प्रमाणप्रयोजनसहितम् । कोऽर्थः १ मङ्गलकरणे श्रुतिः प्रमाणं, समाप्तिः फलं चेत्यर्थः ।

Thus he proceeds to comment upon the $Tarkabh\bar{a}_s\bar{a}$ of Keśava Mis'ra putting the subject before the beginners with clarity. The influence of $Navya-Ny\bar{a}ya$ is obvious in his work but we can see that the author has tried to make the subject quite intelligible. This shows his own mastery and grasp of the subject. He is faithful to the S'āstra and does not try to refute or misrepresent the original tenets of the school anywhere in his work.

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JISNUGUPTA OF NEPAL (c. 643-664 A.D.)

By

Prof. Radhakrishna Choudhary, Begusarai

Like the many gaps in the history of India, there are innumerable lacunae in the history of Nepal. There is no unanimity among scholars with regard to even a single point in the history of Nepal. The nature of evidence is so confusing and conflicting that it is very difficult to arrive at any definite conclusion. In this paper, an attempt has been made to present a study of the reign of Jiṣnugupta, based mainly on his own inscriptions.

It appears that the political heritage of Ams'uvarman was ably carried out by Jiṣṇugupta. It has been held that side by side with the Licchavis, the Guptas also ruled in some portions of Nepal. Jayaswal has connected this Gupta dynasty of Nepal with the Imperial Guptas (Chronology and History of Nepal, p. 61; ef. Kirpatrick's Vamsāvalī). Lévi believes that among the Gupta rulers there were eight between Jayagupta I and Jayagupta II (Lévi, II. 72; IA VII. 89). Jayagupta II is said to have settled near Janakpur Terai and his coin-mould has been discovered from Nalanda. His coins have been found at Magadha and Champaran. What seems probable is this, that after the disintegration of the Imperial Guptas in Magadha and Vaiśālī, a branch of the Guptas from north Bihar migrated to Nepal and established their authority there.

Who were these Guptas? We cannot give any definite answer to this pertinent question in the present state of our knowledge. The AMMK refers to anarchy in Nepal after Mānadeva II. It is believed that taking advantage of this chaotic condition the Ahirs entered Nepal and established their hold. Lévi has dismissed this dynasty as a chronological figment. Jayaswal took them to be a branch of the Imperial Guptas. Hamilton believed that the Gupta dynasty of Nepal descended from Mahip Gopal who came from Simraongarh and Janakpur (Accounts of Nepal, p. 188). The descendants of Mahip belonged to the low tribe of cowherds and the Ahirs ruled Nepal for about 175 years (Ibid). The Vaintāvalīs

call them Ahirs from the plains of Hindustan and these so-called Gupta-Ahirs are mentioned in some of the inscriptions (IA IX; Kirpatrick, 255-57). They are said to have subjugated the kingdom of Nepal between 500 and 590 A.D. and there were five of this dynasty Paramagupta of this dynasty. rulers wrested power from the Licchavis. Another line of the same dynasty ruled in the Terai area and they were possibly separated during the reign of Jisnugupta. Some scholars connect Jisnugupta with the Ahirs though he calls himself as descended from Soma in the Thankot Inscription. This much is sure that Jisnugupta was in no way connected to Amsuvarman or related to any Thakuri line. There are circumstances to show that he belonged to a plebeian stock, might be Ahir or something else. We have no idea about his lineage and the evidence of the Thankot Inscription may be construed that it was after becoming all-powerfull in the realm that he began to call himself a Somavamsī. There was some That in spite of all difficulties confusion during his reign. Jisnugupta continued to be a powerful ruler is evident from his inscriptions. Lévi suggested that it was in his time that Nepal along with Tibet helped the Chinese envoy against Arjuna between 647 and 650 (Lévi, II. 156-59). The Chinese is said to have secured seven thousand soldiers from Nepal (R. K. Choudhary, History of Bihar (CB) 77). It is not possible to agree with Fleet that "Amsuvarman probably came with 7,000 men to help the Chinese general" (IA XIV, 349).

The AMMK account gives new and correct information when it says that Udaya and Jiṣṇu were the last kings of Nepal and after them the rulers of Nepal became dependent on the Mleccha usurpers and the kingship was lost. This possibly refers to the Tibetan invasion of Nepal. Jiṣṇu of the AMMK is to be identified with Jiṣṇugupta of the inscriptions. According to Jayaswal, Jiṣṇugupta was the son of Viśvagupta and the brother-in-law of Amśuvarman. We have shown above that Jiṣṇugupta was in no way connected with Amśuvarman, or the Licchavis or the Thākkuris. Walsh connected him with the Licchavis (JRAS 1908, p. 681; cf. DHNI I. 191). Regmi holds that his Gupta lineage cannot be questioned (Ancient and Medieaval Nepal, p. 112). In

the present state of our knowledge, it is not possible to state anything definitely in this connection. If his Gupta lineage is not to be questioned then we can venture to suggest that he was connected with the plebeian Ahir stock. All the sources go to show that he did not belong to any royal family but was a commoner. Undoubtedly he was the real wielder of political power after Ams'uvarman. He is not mentioned in the Vamsāvalī. but the AMMK definitely does so (udayah Jisnunohyante). He followed the tradition of Amsuvarman. Though himself a powerful ruler, he preferred to call himself a Sāmanta. The extent of his political power and authority is evident from his inscriptions and coins. Pana and Karsapana of the Thankot Inscription refer to the system of coinage introduced by Jisnugupta. The specific mention of the Mallakara in the Thankot Inscription is indicative of the fact that he had to wage a protracted struggle against the Mallas who had gained sufficient strength in the valley of the Saptagandaki.

The inscriptions of Jishugupta reveal to us certain interesting details about his administration. Hitherto only four or five of his inscriptions were known. R. Gnoli has brought to light twelve inscriptions of Jishugupta and on the basis of these inscriptions we can definitely state that he ruled for about sixteen years (that is between Samvat 48 and 64 of the inscriptions). Gnoli has further pointed out that the Thankot Inscription (Gnoli, LVI; Lévi. No, 16) is dated 59 and not 500 as read by Lévi and 44 as read by Regmi and others. The Minanarayana Charter (Gnoli, LII: Bhagwan Lal, No. 10) describes Jisnugupta as one who freed the It refers to the repair of Tilamakam by Śrī people (L. 5). From this inscription it is evident that his Mahāsāmanta. power was unchallenged and unequalled and there was no check on his political status though he might have acknowledged the nominal sway of the Licchavi rulers like Dhruvadeva and Bhīmārjunadeva. The word "Svayamājnā" conveys that he had assumed such authority as to issue orders to feudatories and future kings. He ran a network of canals and the village committee managed the administration of such water-works. The government levied water-tax on all users.

account of Jisnugupta, as given by Jayaswal and The Regmi, does not seem to be conclusive. From the very fact that the date of the Thankot Inscription is doubtful, we cannot arrive at any definite conclusion. Gnoli has corrected the reading and on that basis we can suggest that Jisnu continued to rule under two Licchavi puppets between 643 and 659. The Chinese source is also not very clear here. Lévi's Manadeva of the Thakot Inscription (L.6) has been corrected by Gnoli as Bhīmārjunadeva. Bhīmārjunadeva comes after Dhruvadeva. If these readings of Gnoli are accepted, the question of Manadeva does not arise here and that goes a long way in solving the tangled question of date and time. Indraji and Basak have rightly dropped Manadeva out of their lists altogether. Manadeva does not appear in the inscriptions of Ams'uvarman and not even in the Thankot Inscription of Jisnugupta as Regmi thinks (op cit. p. 114). Fleet has shown that Jisnugupta was ruling in 654 side by side with Dhruvadeva in the same year (IA XIV). Dhruvadeva has been omitted in the Vamsāvalī, though he has been mentioned in Jisnu's inscription. To avoid Vrsadeva, brother of Śivadeva, Jisnu appears to have set up Dhruvadeva puppet king against Vrsadeva. Tisnu very powerful ruler and a conservative Hindu. He is called Pusupati Bhattaraka. Fish, Sankha, Chakra, reclining Bull etc. are generally found in his inscriptional stones. He spent his time in looking after the welfare of his people, in erecting temples, digging canals and in stabilising his constitutional position. The confused character of the Nepalese sources does not enable us to present a scientific picture of the contemporary political history. Taking into consideration all the conflicting sources we can state, though with reservation, that Manadeva, Dhruvadeva and Bhimarjunadeva and Narendradeva were ruling in Nepal at a period when Jisnugupta was at the height of his power as a Samanta.

The inscriptional evidences are noted below :-

(i) Inscription No. 9 of Bhagwan Lal (IA IX) is No. L of Gnoli dated Samvat 48 (R. Gnoli, Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Character, Nos. L to LXII). Here it has been pointed out that Jiṣṇu's rule was a "Samasta-paurāsritasāsano." He asserts that his orders are

obeyed by all citizens. The epigraph suggests that the feudal lord Chandravarman addressed a note to Jisnugupta for the repair of a water canal which was consequently done and a reassessment was made. In support of his contention, Jayaswal depends upon this inscription.

- (ii) Gnoli, LI. It was not known either to Lévi or to Bhagwan Lal. It is dated in Samvat 49. It refers to the reign of Licchavi king Dhruvadeva. Since the text is completely dilapidated, it is very difficult to make out a coherent account. The only important point that can be made out is that Jiṣṇu was ruling as a powerful Sāmanta.
- (iii) Gnoli, LII (Bhagwan Lal No. 10). The date is missing. It states that Dhruvadeva was ruling at Māngrha and Jiṣṇugupta was the Mahāsāmanta. On account of the defective character of the epigraph, Fleet suggested that the text may mean nothing more than a courteous reference to one whose position was equal to his own. It is not possible to accept the findings of Fleet as we have shown on the basis of this epigraph that Jiṣṇu was a powerful Mahāsāmanta while Dhruvadeva was a mere puppet.
- (iv) Gnoli, LIII (Neither in Lévi or Bhagwan Lal). The date is not clear. It refers to the establishment of a temple of "Bhagavato" Nātheśvara." In lines 5-6, it gives a list of names.
- (iv) Gnoli, LIV (not in Lévi or Bhagwan Lal). The date is missing.
- (v) Gnoli, LV. It is dated Samvat 55. By this time Dhruvadeva seems to have been succeeded by Bhīmārjunadeva. The record confirms the orders of the previous rulers.
- (vi) Gnoli, LVI (Lévi, No. 16). Better known as the Thankot Inscription. It is dated in Samvat 59 and

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the name of the ruling king is not Mānadeva as suggested by Lévi and followed by others but Bhīmārajunadeva. This epigraph is important as it gives an account of Jiṣṇu claiming to be a Somavainsī. His claim to sovereignty by hereditary right and popular support is sought to be established on the basis of this text. It also refers to the Mallakara.

- (vii) Gnoli, LVII. It is dated in Samvat 50. The name of the king is missing.
- (viii) Gnoli, LVIII. The date is missing and the name of the king is Bhīmārjunadeva. It also refers to the Mallakara.
 - (ix) Gnoli, LIX (Bhagwan Lal No. 11). The date is missing. This epigraph is important in the sense that it does not refer to the ruling king and describes Jiṣṇugupta as "Svasti Śrī Jiṣṇuguptasya pravardhamānavijayarājye āchārya bhagavat pranarddanaprāṇakausikena Bhagavataḥ chatracaṇḍesvaraḥ.......(Lines 9-12). He seems to have wielded all power at this time and hence the real ruler is not mentioned here. It gives an account of the measures for repairing the sanctuary.
 - (x) Gnoli, LX. There is no date. Jiṣṇu is independently mentioned.
 - (xi) Gnoli, LXI. The inscription is dated Samvat 64.

EARLY HISTORY OF KANYAKUMARI

By

Dr. K. K. Pillay, Madras

Kanyākumārī, lying at the land's end of India, has over a hundred inscriptions which belong to different dynasties. these, the largest number of epigraphs is found engraved in the celebrated Kanyabhagavatī temple; some are in the neighbouring Guhanāthasvāmi temple, while a few happen to be found in the precincts of the Roman Catholic Church in the village. Two epigraphs belong to the Early Pandyas, a few to the Venad kings and Nāyak rulers, while the largest number pertains to the Cholas and Chola-Pandyas. Excepting about a dozen inscriptions which are in Sanskrit, one in Dutch and another in Telugu, the rest are all either in Tamil or partly in Sanskrit and partly in Tamil. The Sanskrit portions are in Grantha script, while, excepting some of the earliest records which are in Vatteluttu, all the other Tamil inscriptions are engraved in modern Tamil. Some inscriptions still remain to be copied, while some others have not been edited and published.

As in the case invariably of all sacred places, the legendary accounts pertaining to Kanyākumāī and its famous temple are of little historical value. The Sthalapurāṇa connects Kanyākumārī with the Rāmāyaṇa. It is stated that Śrī Rāma came to Kanyākumārī with the object of crossing the ocean to Lankā, offered prayers to the deity of the place for invoking her aid, and that through her blessings had a bridge constructed, connecting Kanyākumārī with Lankā. It was in consequence of this, so runs the Sthalapurāṇa account, that Kanyākumārī came to be known as Ādi-Sētu.¹ Obviously, this is a product of the myth-maker's invention, introduced in order to cast a halo of sanctity round the place.

To this day this traditional belief is embodied in the prayer of devotees who take their holy bath at Kanyākumāri; the prayer runs thus: "Ādi-Setoh Kanyākumārī-kṣetre mātr-pitr-tirthe".

Early Tamil literature of the Sangam age has several references to Kumārī and some of the classics speak of it as the sacred bathing place. Others refer to it as denoting 'the southern tip of the Tamil country'.

Thus it is clear that during the age of the so-called Third Sangam there is no mention of the Tamil country having extended south of Kanyākumārī. The earliest reference to land having existed still farther south in the past is found in Nakkīrar's commentary to the Irainār Ahapporul. But this work does not belong to a date earlier than the 8th century A.D. Moreover, it is given to descriptions of legendary accounts regarding the origin and early history of the Tamil Sangams. Amidst other incredible things, it says that myriads of years ago the first Sangam was located in Ten-Madurai, far south of Kanyākumārī, and that when it was swallowed by the sea, the second Sangam was founded in Kāpādapuram, which lay to the south of Kanyākumārī but north of Ten-Madurai.

It is not unlikely that this entire legend had had its origin subsequent to the time of Ilangovadigal, the author of Silappadi-kāram, which contains the earliest reference to the encroachment of the sea and the destruction of land to the south of Kanyā-kumārī. On the basis of this slender reference a theory has been postulated, reinforced by certain observations of geologists and ethnologists. In support of the theory they point to the similarity of the fossil remains, animal and vegetable, in South India, South Africa, Australia and South America. It is further argued that the prevalence of certain similar customs among the Dyaks of Borneo, and the Jakuns of Malaya on the one hand, and the Kādars and Mala Vēdans of South India on the other, strengthens

^{2.} Puranānūru, 67; Śilappadikāram, XV. 13-17; and Maņimekhalai, XIII. 5-7.

^{3.} Tolkāppiyam, Pāyiram; Puranānūru, 17; and Maduraikkānci, 70-73.

^{4.} Śilappadikāram, XI. 19-20.

^{5.} See, for example, T. W. Holderness: Peoples and Problems of India, Chapter I, p. 23; Scott Elliott: The Lost Lemuria; and P, V, Manicka Naickar: Sentamil Chelvi, Vol. I. Part III (Tamil)

the plausibilty of this theory. But these comparisons are far too general and insufficient to warrant the formulation of a Lemurian theory, because among early peoples, all the world over, certain sociological developments seem to have been fairly similar.

At any rate it is unquestionably true that from the beginnings of historic times Kanyākumārī was the southernmost tip of India. This is borne out by foreign testimony, Eratosthenes' (c. 240-196 B.C.), the learned President of the Alexandrian Library, is the first foreigner to mention Cape Comorin. Eratosthenes on his part, relied mostly on the date supplied by Patrocles, an officer who held an important command over the Eastern Provinces of the Syrian Empire under Seleucus Nikator and Antiochus I.

The Periplus of the Erythraen Sea (c. A.D. 60), a guide book written by an anonymous author, not only mentions the Cape as a harbour but also refers to its sanctity. The Periplus says that Cape Comorin, the sacred seat of the goddess was visited by devout pilgrims who took their holy bath there. Thus the religious importance of Kanyākumārī and the association of the virgin goddess with it had gained widespread currency long before the dawn of the Christian Era. The author of the Periplus is not known to have gone south of Nelcynda (Koṭṭayam?) in Central Travancore, and therefore his information about Kanyākumārī was but through hearsay.

- 6. "Beyond this there is another place called Comari, where came those men who wish to consecrate themselves for the rest of their lives, and bathe and dwell in celibacy; and women also did the same, for it is told that a Goddess once dwelt here and bathed." (Schoff: Periplus, 58).
- 7. It is not known when the legend about God Sthānumūrti of S'ucīndram, desiring to win the hand of the Virgin Goddess proceeds to Kanyākumāri every night gained currency. There is hardly any basis for the suggestion of P. T. S. Iyengar that this legend might have existed from the days of Mahābhārata. (History of the Tamils, p. 310). In all probability, the story appeared about the time that the Sthalapurāṇa was made, which was not earlier than the 15th century A. D.

For the period beginning from the 9th century A.D. inscriptions provide useful data. The earliest of the inscriptions in the Kanyābhagavatī temple are those of Kō-Caḍayan Māran and Māran Caḍayan, both found on the northern wall of the temple. These two kings of the Early Pāṇḍyan dynasty belonged to the 9th century A.D. Therefore, it is certain that the present temple was constructed by that time, if not earlier. There was, in all probability; a still earlier structure prior to the construction of the present temple.

Kanyākumārī formed part of Purattāyanādu from at least the 10th century A.D. But an intriguing name of a political division which appears in an inscription as an equivalent of Purattāyanādu is 'Ten-Vāraṇavāsi-Nādu'. An obvious explanation suggests itself that it was another name for Ten-Kās'i (Southern Banaras). But, in the first place, Banaras itself has been known as Vāraṇāsī (and not as Vāraṇavāsi), situated as it is between the rivers Vāraṇā and Asī. Secondly, here the name is not used to denote Kanyā-kumārī but Purattāyanādu. Therefore some other explanation has to be sought.

It is found that Kulottunga I, the grandfather of Kulottunga II, had a surname, Vāraṇan. The inscription mentioned above, which speaks of Tenvāraṇavāśi Nāḍu, is dated Kollam 376, equivalent to A.D. 1201. Kulōttunga II ruled till A.D. 1150. Is it not likely that he had given this name to Purattāyanāḍu in honour of his grandfather? A verse in Kulōttunga Chōlan Ulā shows that Kulōttunga I had a surname Vāraṇan. In this connection, a significant fact to be observed is that Kulōttunga I's inscriptions in Purattāyanāḍu do not employ this name at all.

The Kanyākumārī village had another name, Kalikkudi. But it is not easy to determine the exact origin of this name. On the

^{8.} Travancore Archaeological Series, (TAS), Vol. VI. p. 141.

^{9.} TAS Vol. VI. p. 147.; Ibid. p. 145; Ibid, Vol. I. No. III.

^{10.} TAS Vol. IV. p. 65.

^{11.} I am indebted to the late Kavimani S. Desikavinayakam Pillai for this suggestion.

^{12.} Kulottunga Cho lan Ula, V. 31.

other hand, a clearly self-expressive name bestowed on the village was 'Gangai-konda-cholapuram'.' This name was obviously given in honour of Rajendra I's victorious expedition to North India.

Both the Pāṇḍyas and Chōlas held Kanyākumārī in high esteem and made handsome endowments to the temple. Kanyākumārī was traditionally associated with the Pāṇḍyas from early times. The Divākaram describes the Pāṇḍyan king as lord of Kumārī (Kumarichērpan). The Puranānūru speaks of the Pāṇḍya as lord of the Pahruli river which emptied itself into the ocean near the Cape. In fact it is stated that the course of the river Pahruli itself was directed through the construction of a dam by the king Vaḍimbalamba-Ninra-Neḍiyōn-Pāṇḍyan. The goddess Kumārī was actually revered as the family deity of the Pāṇḍyan kings.

The Chōlas, too, inherited the pride of possessing this sacred spot. The Vikrama Chōlan Ulā speaks of the Chōla king as 'Kumaritturaivan', the 'lord of the holy bathing ghat'. '16 Moreover, it was under the patronage of Chōla emperors that the place became a noted centre of Brāhmanical learning. Attached to the temple there existed a Śālai, an educational institution, apparently intended to teach Brāhmins the sacred lore and also to feed them. We hear of the Rāja Rājan Śālai in Kanyākumārī. '7 A qualification provided for this institution reveals its early history for it is described as Śrīvallabhapperuñjālai, now renamed as Rāja Rājan Śālai. This suggests that the institution at Kanyākumārī was founded by Śrī Māra Śrīvallabha, the Pāṇdyan king, who ruled approximately between A. D. 815 and 862. Apparently, Rāja Rāja I replenished and strengthened it. The references in the inscriptions at Kanyākumārī show that the Śālai was doubtless an

^{13.} TAS Vol. I. p. 249.

^{14.} Puranānūru, Stanza 9.

^{15. &#}x27;Tennavar tam Kula-Deivam Ten-Kumari', TAS, Vol. I. No. iii.

^{16.} Vikrama Cholan Ula, verse 182.

^{17.} TAS, Vol. I. p. 165 and p. 242.

educational institution where free feeding was also provided, and that it had little to do with the roadstead or harbour, as has been commonly interpreted in relation to Kāndalūr S'ālai. It is clear from the epigraphic references at Kanyākumārī that the Śālai here was at once an educational institution and a feeding place. The mention of S'aṭṭargaļ and Śaṭṭapperumakkaļ¹¹¹ in the inscriptions pertain to the teachers or the learned men, while the allocation of a specified quantity of paddy for feeding Brāhmins²¹¹ shows that it served also as a feeding place.

Guhanāthēśvarar Kōil:—About 200 yards to the north of the celebrated Bhagavatī temple is the small shrine spoken of as that of Guhanāthēs'varar. The garbhagṛha of the shrine, enclosed by a prākāra wall, and a hall in front of it are the only structures that constitute this small temple. On the outer walls of the shrine there are several inscriptions.

A peculiar feature here is that the garbhagṛha enshrining the S'iva linga is surrounded by a narrow passage which runs between the garbhagṛha and the first prākāra wall. This passage has the appearance of a cave. The deity of the temple is variously spoken of as 'Guhanāthēśvarar', 'Guhaināthēśvarar' and 'Guhanāndēśvarar' while in popular parlance, the name 'Kōnāndēśvarar' is applied to it. Gopinatha Rao has sought to explain the name by ascribing it to the cave-like appearance of the passage.²¹ This does not, however, seem convincing.

The Kanyākumārī Sthalapurāṇa connects it with Muruga, who set up, it is said, on the advice of his mother, a shrine of Siva and worshipped him there. The Purāṇa would have it that it is on that score that the deity is known as 'Guhanadeśvarar' or the God who protected and blessed Guha (Muruga). This story seems unnatural and is purely aetiological in character. The

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: The Colas (Second Edition) p. 169 and notes on pp. 188-90; Contra See S. Desikavinayagam Pillai: Kerala Society Papers, Series 2, pp. 100 ff.

^{19.} TAS, Vol. VI. p. 150.

^{20.} Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXVI, pp. 274-5.

^{21.} TAS Vol. I. p. 161.

myth-maker's ingenuity has been at work in order to explain an existing feature by the invention of a legend.

In this connection it is pertinent to note that one of the inscriptions in the shrine describes the deity as 'Tiruppendīśvara Uḍaiyār' and the shrine itself as 'Rājā Rājēs'varam'. 22 Obviously this temple was built either by Rāja Rāja himself or by some one in his honour, and the deity was, in all probability, called after Brihadīśvarar in whose name Rāja Rāja built the famous temple at Tanjāvūr. It seems that 'Tiruppendīśvaramuḍaiyār' was a corrupted form of 'Tirubrihadīs'varamuḍaiyār'. In this connection it is interesting to observe that an inscription of Rājakēsarivarman Rājādhirājadēva records the establishment of a watershed named after Jayankoṇḍa Chōla²³. It is known that Jayankoṇḍa was one of the surnames assumed by Rāja Rāja I. This strengthens the force of the suggestion that Rāja Rāja I was the ruler who was associated with the origin of the Guhanāthēśvarar temple.

Kanyākumārī, with its sacred fame and admirable location at the meeting point of the Bay of Bengal, Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea, has always been the bone of contention among the southern powers. The Pandyas were in possession of it from early times and the Cholas captured and kept it in their hands till the period of their decline. The later Pandyas recovered it. But with the establishment of Vijayanagar supremacy over the Pāndyas in the time of Achyuta Rāya the formal sovereignty over Kanyākumārī passed on to Vijayanagar. Rāmarāya Vitthala undertook an expedition against the Travancore Tiruvadi in A. D. 1544, and on his way to Kōttar, further strengthened the hold on the Pandyan territory. In consequence of this he was known as the Pandyarajya sthapanacharya. It is believed that the Rāyagōpuram on the northern entrance of the Bhagavatī temple was planned and the work was begun by Vitthala. But it was not completed.

^{22.} Ibid. p. 243 and p. 249.

^{23.} Ibid. p. 168.

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With the rise of the Nāyaks of Madurai, the Pāṇḍyan dominion fell into their hands and Kanyākumārī also came under their authority. In the 18th century the formal power over the Pāṇḍyan kingdom passed on to the Nawab of Arcot, the vassal of the Nizam of Hyderabad. In 1766 a treaty was concluded between the Travancore ruler and the Nawab of the Carnatic, according to which, in return for Kaļakkād which was transferred to the Nawab, the Travancore king obtained Kanyākumārī and Cenkōṭṭai. In 1956, according to the scheme of reorganisation of States, Kanyākumārī, along with Nāncinād, passed on to the Madras State.

EARLY HISTORY AND ORIGIN OF NAVADVIPA

By

Sivaprasad Das Gupta, Calcutta

Navadvipa is one of the most important pilgrim centres of Bengal situated on the Bhagirathi river, Hindu pilgrims, particularly Vaisnavas, from all over eastern India, and even from far-flung places like Manipur, visit this town and pay homage to Mahāprabhu Śrī Caitanya and other Vaisnava saints of Navadvipa. Navadvīpa is also famous as an ancient seat of Sanskritic learning for the last several centuries. But the fame of the town rose to the highest pinnacle during the late 15th and early 16th centuries with the advent of Śrī Caitanya and other great scholars in diverse fields who ushered in a period of intellectual renaissance in Bengal. It was during this period that Śrī Caitanya expounded his philosophy of Acintya Bhedābheda and demonstrated the cult of Bhakti as the path towards salvation. His religious doctrines brought about a veritable spiritual revolution all over Bengal, Orissa and Assam. At the same time, his contemporary, a great Naiyāyika scholar, Raghunatha, created a lot of stir amongst the philosophical thinkers of the day by giving extraordinary expositions of Indian logic and establishing the new school of Navya Nyāya. Another courageous reformer, Raghunandana, the famous Smarta scholar of Navadvipa, undertook the work of thorough reformation of the social and religious codes by fresh interpretation of the Smrti Sastras, which was of great consequence in view of the generally deteriorated conditions of the then society under long continued Moslem rule. Thus Navadvīpa, being the fountain-head of new schools of thoughts in the field of religion, philosophy and social polity, came to be known as the "Oxford of Bengal."

Though the town became generally wellknown only in the 16th century, there is sufficient reason to believe that it was already a seat of culture and learning several centuries before. The origin of the town is shrouded in mystery. Unfortunately, there is no archaeological evidence to establish the antiquity of the

town. The oldest temple in the town will not be more than few centuries old. This is due to the riparian situation of the town and very frequent changes of the courses of the rivers here, especially at the wake of the disastrous earthquakes of the late 16th century. The name of the town does not occur in the Epics and the Puranas. But the famous Vaisnava poet Ghanasyamadasa in his Bhaktiratnākara, has tried to establish the antiquity of the town by interpreting certain slokas of the Visnu Purana indicating the existence of Navadvipa during the Puranic age. In the Visnu Purana there is a reference to nine islands in these regions, Indradvīpa, Kas'erudvīpa etc. Ghanas'yāmadāsa identifies the unnamed ninth island as Navadvīpa. The existence of the sea and islands in the pre-historic and early historic periods here is supported by geological evidence. It appears that the Bay of Bengal extended in the north upto the vicinity of Navadvīpa in the late Tertiary and early Quarternary periods a few millennium ago. The Bhagirathi flowed into this bay and deposited layers of alluvial soil forming the original Ganga Delta which was obviously much smaller than what it is today. A number of islands comprised this delta and several new islands subsequently came into being due to continuous deposits of fresh alluvium. One such newly created island evidently came to be known as Navadvipathe new island. Thus Navadvīpa had its origin at the very beginning of human history several thousand years ago. In the Manusamhitā also, it is clearly mentioned that there lay the sea to the east of the Aryavarta. The name, Samudragarh, a village lying close to Navadvīpa, also indicates the existence of the sea here in the past. In the vicinity of the town there are several places the names of which end in 'dvīpa' signifying watery origin.

In the Mahāvāmsa we find the name 'Naggadvīpo' mentioned in connection with the history of Vijaya Simha, son of Simhabāhu, the king of Rāla Rātta (or Rādha Rāṣṭra, i.e., the present Burdwan District) of Bengal in the 6th century B.C. Prince Vijayasimha, along with his seven hundred followers, was exiled by the king. He settled in Naggadvīpo, while his seven hundred followers settled in the neighbourhood. Naggadvīpo may apparently be

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identified with Navadvīpa and the name of the Pargana lying west of Navadvīpa in Burdwan District, known as Sātśaikā (land of the seven hundreds), indicates that here the seven hundred exiles settled themselves. Presumably it was Navadvīpa from where Vijayasiṃha sailed for Lankā. Thus it appears that the origin of the town dates back to at least the 6th century B. C. when it was possibly an important port of embarkation somewhere near the mouth of the Bhāgīrathī not very far from the sea as it was at that time.

In the Periplus (1st century A. D.) and in Ptolemy's maps (2nd century A. D.) we find that there was a city known as Ganga which was the principal market town and capital of the kingdom of Gangaredai. This town has not been definitely identified. There is a village named Ganganagara just north of Navadvīpa. It is quite likely that this was the position of Gange of the Periplus and Ptolemy; at least the position indicated in Ptolemy's map corresponds to that of Ganganagara. In the Mahāvaṃs'a also there is a reference to the town of Vanganagara here. May be, Vanganagara is the same as Ganganagara.

Unfortunately here, as in any part of lower Bengal, no substantial archaeological remains reflecting the early history of the region could be excavated. In the town there is not even a single building or a temple which might be of any great antiquity. The river Bhagirathi washed away the town several times during its history. However, in the vicinity of Navadvīpa there are certain places where ancient remains are said to exist. If these ruins are unearthed they may yield valuable materials helping the reconstruction of the past history of the region. For instance, in a neighbouring village known as Pāruliā, there are possibly some ruins as claimed by the local people. According to local legends this was the capital of the ancient king Candraketu. He had a minister named Rāksasa whose mortal remains are said to be lying buried in a place known as Raksasaponta (meaning tomb of Rākṣasa) in Pāruliā. The names of the surrounding villages, such as Hātiśālā (Elephant Bhātśālā (Grain stores), Kāsthaśāli (Wood store) etc. indicate the

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varied function of a capital town. Similarly, names of several other villages indicate that there were forts and military outposts.

There are indications that during the Buddhistic period Navadvīpa grew into a seat of Buddhistic learning. The name Suvarņavihāra, a village lying east of Navadvīpa, indicates that it was a Buddhist monastery, of which nothing except an earth heap and few rubbles here and there remains, due erosion by the river. In another village, Pānśilā, a stone slab with inscriptions in undeciphered Prakrit has been found and other remains also exist which are yet to be excavated. The villagers offer $p\bar{u}j\bar{u}$ to the deities of Buddhist origin and practise still certain rituals which remind of Buddhistic life in the past. Curiously, the name Pansila rings like Vikramas'ila and Taksasila, the famous seats of Buddhistic learning. No wonder, if Pansīla was also something of this type. In Navadvīpa itself there is a place known as Pārdāngā (Pāhārpur) where it is said, there were Buddhist stupas and vihāras. It is not unlikely that here was one of the famous monasteries of the Pala period. There are indications that the many Buddhist images, now being worshipped by Hindus in the town and vicinity. were removed from the ruins of the monastery at Pārdāngā. The influence of the Buddhist period is still found ingrained in the customs and rituals of the locality. The local people worship images variously styled Burhasiva, Burhārāja, Dharmarāja, Yoganārtha, Olāicandī, etc., which bear testimony to a connection with Buddhism and Buddhist Tantrik practices. The main celebrations and pūjās of these deities are generally held on the thrice blessed day of Vaisākhī Pūrnimā, i.e., the day of the birth, enlightenment and nirvana of the Buddha. In the later period, during the 5th to the 7th century A.D., the religion of the Buddha slowly degenerated into the occult forms of the Tantras. During this transition period, the Buddhist Tantras gradually gave way to Brahminical Tantras and ultimately to the cult of Sakti worship and re-establishment of Hindu religion. Navadvīpa is said to be the place of Sādhanā of a Siddha sannyāsin who established the shrine of Vibudhajananī or Goddess Kālī. As a matter of fact Vibudhajananī is the presiding deity of

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the town even today, and the s'āktas form, by far, the majority of the population of the town. Later, many scholars, well versed in Agamas'āstra, appeared in Navadvīpa and firmly established Brahminism in Bengal.

It was during the turmoils of Tantricism that Adisūra (9th century), the valiant defender of Brahminism, became the king of the Rādha country, having his capital somewhere near Navadvīpa. He made a bold attempt to reform and purify the society degenerated under base Tāntrik influences. For this purpose he invited a band of Brahmins, well versed in the Śāstras, from upper India, and made them settle there. We do not know which was the capital of Adis'ūra or who the other kings of the Śūra dynasty were. There is, however, a village named Mahīs'ūra near Navadvīpa. One may wonder if this had any relation to the Śūra kings. There is another village, known as Śūra, which is largely inhabited by Vaidyas. The Śūra kings, being themselves Vaidyas by caste, we may be tempted to say that the village, with this significant name, might have something to do with this dynasty.

After the Suras, the Sena dynasty came into power in Bengal. According to many chroniclers Navadvipa was the headquarters of the Senas. Even if Navadvīpa was not the actual capital, there is no doubt of the fact that during this period Navadvīpa played a great role and the kings used to stay in this town for long stretches. Vallala Sena (12th century A.D.) had his palace here, the ruins of which are still lying buried in a place known as Vallala-dhipi (dhipi = earth mound). The name of the neighbouring village is Vallāla-dighi (dighi = big tank). The contemporary genealogist, Nula Pancanana, states in his Sambandha Nirnaya that Vallala used to stay in Jahnunagara and take his bath in the Ganga. Jahnunagara is now a village lying close to Navadvīpa town. Vallala Sena is an important figure in the social and cultural history of Bengal because he re-established Brahminism in Bengal and completed the social reforms which were started by Adis'ura. He established the famous Kaulinya system in Bengal by conferring Kaulinya, or higher social status, to certain families amongst the caste Hindus, the influence of which in the fabric of the society is found firmly ingrained even now-a-days. Thus

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Navadvīpa became the headquarters of Brahmanism and of Brahminical learning in Bengal. The Hindus of Navadvīpa samāja are still held in high esteem. Vallāla Sena, himself an erudite scholar, encouraged the development of the town as a seat of Sanskritic learning and centre of intellectual studies.

Navadvīpa grew into still greater prominence during the reign of Laksmana Sena, son of Vallala Sena. Laksmana Sena used to stay in Navadvīpa most of his time and made Navadvīpa the de facto capital of Bengal. Dhoyi, a court poet of Laksmana Sena. has mentioned in his Pavanadūta that Vijayapura was the capital of Bengal. This Vijayapura can be identified with Bejpārā now a village very near to Navadvīpa. During Laksmana Sena's time Navadvīpa developed into a famous University. The king, himself an exponent of Sanskritic learning, gave royal support to scholars and had a number of scholars attached to his own royal court. But there came a severe setback to the development of the town when Navadvīpa was attacked by the Pathan adventurer, Bakhtyar Khilji, sometime near about 1200 A.D. During the Pathan raid the old king Laksmana Sena was in the town and made his escape to East Bengal. Minhājuddin, a contemporary chronicler, gives in his Tabagāt-Nāsirī a vivid description of the event. He describes the town as a fort as well as a university full of scholars and Brahmins with 'shaven heads'. The Pathan general not only raced the town to the ground but also took away a huge pile of manuscripts from Navadvīpa as spoils. Minhāj also states that there was a big vihāra or a monastery in Navadvīpa. Possibly this refers to the vihāra of Pārdāngā mentioned earlier. Abdul Fazl in his Ain-i-Akbari describes Navadvīpa as an old capital of Bengal abounding in wisdom; but during the Moslem rule it was thinly inhabited, although still conspicuous for learning. It appears from these descriptions that during the reign of Laksmana Sena, particularly upto middle of the 13th century, Navadvīpa remained the most important intellectual centre and seat of Sanskritic learning in Bengal.

HISTORY OF BAYANA

By
Dr. K. C. Jain, Ajmer

Bayānā is situated about thirty miles to the south-west of Bharatpur. In early times, it was known by various names which were probably used by different ruling dynasties. Its oldest name is said to be Śāntipura.¹ In two inscriptions of the 11th century,³ its name is given as Śrīpathā. This name was retained also during the 15th century as it is clear from the Prasasti of a copy of the Ātmaprabodhana.³ It was also known by the name of Vijayamandiragarh after its ruler Vijayapāla who constructed the fort in the 11th century A. D.⁴ It was famous by the name of Bayānā in the 12th century as known from Muslim sources.⁵ During the Muslim period, Sultānakoṭa was the Muhammadan name of the new city of Bayānā and the place was afterwards known by the double name of Bayānā Sultānakoṭa.⁰ In the inscriptions of the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries, its name is mentioned Brahmavāda.

The region around Bayānā seems to be an old one. Its antiquity might go back to a time earlier than the Gupta period. A fragmentary inscription dated 300 A. D. has been found where the title of *Mahārāja Mahāsenāpati* is given to the President elected by the Yaudheya republic. This proves that it was an important centre of administration under the Yaudheyas. From the Yaudheyas it seems to have been seized by the Varīka tribe. An inscription of 372 A. D. records the erection of a

^{1.} The old name Santipura known from local traditions is not confirmed by epigraphical or literary sources.

^{2.} EI, XXII, p. 120.

^{3.} Copy of manuscript in the Sastra Bhandara of Bayana. See Appendix, No. 1 for the text.

^{4.} IA, 21, p. 57.

^{5.} HIED, II, p. 304 and p. 308.

^{6.} Ibid.

^{7.} OII, III, No. 88.

sacrificial post on the completion of a *Pundarīka* sacrifice by Viṣṇuvardhana.⁸ He was the son of Yaśovardhana, grandson of Yaśorāja and great-grandson of Vyāghrarāja. Viṣṇuvardhana may be the feudatory of the early Gupta ruler Samudra Gupta. A big hoard of ancient coins has been discovered at a distance of 7 miles from Bayānā. This indicates that it was a prosperous city inhabited by rich people. Most probably, at the time of the Hūṇa invasion, some citizen was killed in 'the disturbances and his hoard remained undiscovered till 1946 A.D.

Both from the Kaman and Bayana inscriptions, it is known that Pakka was the founder of the Śūrasena family. The successors of Pakka established their separate principalities at Kaman, Bayana and other places. The Kaman inscription, which seems to have belonged to the 8th century A. D., records the erection of a temple of Visnu during the reign of Vatsadamana, the seventh in descent from a king of the Surasena dynasty named Pakka. If we place Vatsadāmana in 750 or 775 A. D., Pakka, the head of the dynasty, will date from about the sixth century A.D. From the Bayana inscription of V. S. 1012 (955 A. D.) it is known that in the family of Pakka there was a king named Vappuka. His son was Rājayika who married a lady named Sajjanī of the Mayūrika family. Rājayika's son is not known but he married a lady named Yas'akirti of the Paramara clan. Their daughter was Citralekhā who was married to a Chief named Mangalarāja and had four sons. The name of the first son is not known while three other sons were Indrajīt, Laksamaņa and Camundarāja. These early Surasena rulers seem to be the feudatories of the Pratīhāras of Kanauj. The queen Citralekhā erected a temple of Visnu during the reign of the emperor Mahīpāla in 956 A. D.11 Mahīpāla seems to be the Pratihāra ruler because the Pratīhāras were ruling at this time over Rajor near Alwar in the neighbourhood of Bayana. 12 Durgadeva, the Digambara Jaina poet, finished

^{8.} CII, III, p. 251.

^{9.} IA, 10, pp. 34-35.

^{10.} EI, XXII, p. 120.

^{11.} EI, XXII, p. 120.

^{12.} EI, III, p. 263.

the Ristasammuccaya in the reign of Laksmīnivāsa at Kāmān in 1032 A. D.¹³ He may be identified with Laksamana, son of Citralekhā. One of the early rulers of the Śurasena dynasty is known as Kardamabhūpati. Whether Kardama was his name or title cannot be ascertained. He was initiated to Jaina monkhood by Abhayadeva Sūri and named Ghanes'vara Sūri. He afterwards founded Rājagaccha. He is said to be a contemporary of the King Mañju of Malwa who died in 997 A. D.¹⁴

When Mahmud Ghazni advanced to attack Mahabana on the Yamunā in the Mathura district in 1018 A.D., it was being ruled by a chief named Kulacanda¹⁵ who owned a large number of forts and maintained a strong army. At this time Mahābana and its environs were ruled by the Śūrasena dynasty and Kulacanda was possibly a member of this family. After hard resistence he was defeated and killed. A king named Vijayādhirāja is mentioned in an inscription dated 1043 A.D. 16 Unfortunately this inscription does not supply us with any data regarding his descent. It is quite possible that he belonged to the Surasena dynasty and founded Vijayamandiragarh. Vijayādhirāja may be identified with the famous Sūrasena ruler Vijayapāla, 17 Vijayapāla was a powerful ruler and he extended his empire. He is said to have eighteen sons. Some of them who were ambitious, carved out their separate principalities.18 Gajapala and his successors settled in Jaisalmer and were known as Bhattīs. Madanapāla founded Mandarela and built a fort there. Vijayapāla's successor was Tahanapala or Tribhuvanapala who built the fort of Tahangarh fourteen miles south of Bayana. Tahanapala was followed in by Dharmapāla, Kunvarapāla and Ajavapāla.19 succession Cunningham suggests that there is a chronological error in placing

^{13.} SJS, XXI (Introduction).

^{14.} JSSI, pp. 197-198.

^{15.} The Struggle for Empire, p. 13.

^{16.} ARRMA, 1914, p. 2.

^{17.} ONS, III, p. 1, (See Vrilavilasa)

^{18.} VV, p. 1494.

^{19.} ONS, III, p. 1.

Kunvarapāla before Ajayapāla.²⁰ But this view does not seem to be correct. Both Kunvarapāla and Ajayapāla were ruling over two different principalities simultaneously. Kunvarapāla was the king of Tribhuvanagiri in 1157 A. D. when Jinacandra Sūri visited that place.²¹ It is known from the Mahābana prašasti²² found near Mathura that Mahārājādhirāja Ajayapāla was ruling in 1150 A.D. Haripāla was the son and successor of Ajayapāla.²³ An inscription of Haripāla dated 1170 A.D. has been found at Mahābana.²⁴ Haripāla was succeeded by Sahanapāla. An inscription of the time of the prince Sahanapāla dated 1183 A. D. records that the image was installed by Nilli and Mainā, the two wives of Anangapāla, and by his brother Delu and his wife Vatsa.²⁵

Kunvarapala enjoyed a long reign. When Jinacandra visited Tribhuvanagiri in about 1157 A.D., Kunvarapāla was the ruler of this place. 26 He was defeated by Muhammed Ghori in 1196 A.D. and both the forts of Vijayamandiragarh and Tahangarh were then occupied by the invader, garrisoned with Turkish troops and placed in the command of Bhauddin Tughril. Tughril established a military station at Sultankota in order to use it as the base of operations in the plains.27 After Tughril, Iltutmish captured Bayana.28 In 1250 A.D. during the reign of Nasiruddin Mahmud it was ruled by his governor Kutlughkhan. During the strong reign of Balban, Susarat Khan was the governor of this place.29 Afterwards during the rule of the Khiljis and Tughluqs, it remained under the undisputed possession of the Muslims. death of Firoz Tughluq, it fell into the hands of a powerful family known as Auhadis, who continued to hold it sometimes as tributaries and sometimes as independent rulers for nearly a century

^{20.} The Struggle for Empire, p. 55.

^{21.} KB, p. 19.

^{22.} The Struggle for Empire, p. 55.

^{23.} ONS, III, p. 1.

^{24.} The Struggle for Empire, p. 55.

^{25.} ARRMA, 1914, p. 2,

^{26.} KB, pp. 19-20.

^{27.} HIED, II, p. 304.

^{28.} TN, p. 175.

^{29.} EIM, 1937-38, p. 5.

(1369 A.D. to 1459 A.D.). They sometimes recognised the sovereignty of Sharki kings of Jauanpur or sometimes that of the Lodi kings of Delhi. At last Bahlol Lodi seems to have taken possession of this place. When Ibrahim Lodi became the ruler in 1517 A.D. Nizam Khan was his vassal. At first he joined the party against the Mughals but afterwards he surrendered the fort to Babar.³⁰ During the reign of Humayun, his cousin Muhammad Zaman Mirza was imprisoned in Bayānā. In the time of Shershah a division of the army was stationed at this place.³¹ After his death it was the imperial capital of his son Islam Shah. In 1557 A.D. it was annexed to Delhi by the emperor Akbar and from that time it became a permanent part of the Mūghal dominions. When the Mughal empire began to disintegrate it fell into the hands of the Jats.

Since Bayana was ruled both by the Hindus and Muslims, it was also the seat of their religious activities. People followed the Vedic religions in the fourth century A.D. In 371 A.D. Visnuvardhana erected a sacrificial pillar in memory of a Pundarīkā sacrifice for prosperity.32 The name of the ruler Visnuvardhana indicates the worship of Visnu among the people at this place. In 955 A.D. Citralekhā, the queen of Managalarāja, built the temple of Visnu and gave two villages, Gograpura and Nāgapalli, as well as certain fields Hādhapalli to the deity.33 Three drammas were to be collected for the God Sarangam in the mandapikā of Śrīpathā and a similar sum in the mandapikā of Vāsavata. We also learn that a gift of one dramma was to be set apart for the God, probably when a horse was sold. It may also be that this sum was levied as Octroi duty on every horseload of merchandise carried through the village precincts. Indrajit, son of Citralekhā, also made the gift of a village Aluvadraka to this temple on the occasion of a solar eclipse.34

^{30.} Erskine's Life of Babar, I, p. 452.

^{31.} HIED, V, p. 416.

^{32,} CII, III, p. 251.

^{33.} EI, XXII, p. 120.

^{34.} Ibid.

As Mathurā in the neighbourhood of Bayānā was the stronghold of Jainism in very early times, it is highly probable that Bayana too might have been inhabited by the Jainas also, although there are hardly any monuments to bear testimony to this. The earliest trace of Jainism found at this place is in the 10th century A.D. An inscription of 994 A.D. on the image of Jina reveals that it was caused to be made in accordance with the instructions of Śūrasena, of apparently the Vāgada Samgha, by three brothers Simhāka, Yasorāja and Nonaika.35 The Bayanā stone inscription of 1043 A.D. contains the names of Vișnu Suri and Mahes vara Suri, the Jaina teachers of the Kamyaka Gaccha of the Svetambaras and records the death of Mahes'vara Suri during the reign of prince Vijayapāla.36 Kāmyaka Gaccha originated from the place Kāmān near Bayanā. This gaccha appears to have remained confined only to this area.

During the Muslim period the activities of the Jains remained unrestrained. Images were installed in the Jaina temples and manuscripts were prepared in order to be presented to monks. The installation ceremonies of the images were performed in 1403, 1439, 1448 and 1456 A.D. at Brahmavada, another name of of Bayana.37 In 1621 A.D., the Śrāvakas of this place constructed padagāha of the temple.38 A poet named Govinda of the Agarwala caste wrote the Purusarthanusasana at S'rīpathapurī in the 15th century at the inspiration of Laksmana of the Kayastha caste.39 Amarasimha, father of Laksmana, was highly respected by the officers of emperor Muhammad Shah. Members of this Kayastha family followed Jainism. As it became a literary centre in medieval times, the Jaina Grantha Bhandara was founded and several copies of manuscripts were presented to it by the Śrāvakas of this place and from outside. A copy the Atmaprabodhana was written in 1490 A.D. at Śrīpathā (Bayāna).

^{35.} PRAS. WC., 1910, p. 59.

^{36.} ARRMA, 1914, p. 2.

^{37.} Cf. Inscriptions on the images in the Jaina temple of Bayana, Appendix No. 2

^{38.} Cf. Inscription in Jaina temple of Bayana, Appendix No. 3

When Muslims occupied Bayānā it became famous for activities in Islam. They demolished Hindu and Jaina temples and on their ruins erected a large number of mosques. An inscription of 1320 A.D. records the erection of the Masjid known as Ukhā Masjid during the reign of Qutbuddin Mubārāk. In 1517 A. D. during the reign of Ibrahim Shah, son of Sikandar Shah, a Minār was built for the purpose of calling the faithful to prayer. Other mosques in Bayānā are Kāzipāra Masjid, Faujdārī Masjid, Sayidpāra Masjid, Muffonkī Masjid and Kāziyon-kī-Masjid. Most of these Masjids are built entirely of Hindu materials. A large number of old tombs indicate that several foreign Muslims settled at this place during the medieval times.

APPENDIX 1

Pras'asti in Manuscript No. 89, Jaina Śāstra Bhandāra, Kāmān.

आत्मप्रबोधनग्रन्थकर्ता कुमारकविः । १५४८ फाल्गुण सुदी ११ श्रीपथानगरे खण्डेलवालवंश गंगवालगोत्रे संघई मेणापाल लिखापितम् ।

APPENDIX 2

Inscriptions on images in the Jaina Temple at Bayana.

- (a) अथ संवतसरेऽिसमन् श्री भवति विक्रमादित्यराज्यसंवति १४६० फाल्गुणमासे ग्रुक्रपक्षे नवमी गुरुवासरे श्री गुणयुन्दरसूरि तत्पट्टे महारक वीसळचन्द देवाय म. अतरसी राज......। (पद्मप्रभु पाषाण, वर्ण दयाम, मं ब्रह्मवाद, बयाना).
- (b) संवत १४८६ वर्षे माघ सुदी ६ दिन......संघपति पं. पेमराज सुभावचन्द्र-निजमातृ......। (मं बहाबाद, बयाना,) (मूर्ति विना चिह्न, पाषाण, वर्ण श्वेत, पद्मासन).
- (c) संवत १५०५ वर्षे पौष सुदी १५ दिने सं. धनराजेन कारित जुगमधर बिम्ब ब्रह्मवाद, (युगमधर स्वामी, पाषाण).
- (d) संवत १५१३ वर्षे वैशाख छुदी २ सोमदिने बणवारगोत्रे सा विरदे भा वांदे पु......उल्हातोल्हा भा. गोगी अलये पुत्र चन्द्रप्रभ (पाषाण, स्वामी विवस्, मं ब्रह्मवाद, बयाना, चन्द्रप्रभ, पाषाण).

HISTORY

APPENDIX 3

Inscription in the Jaina Temple at Bayana.

सिद्ध श्री अथराजामट्टे अस्मिन श्री न्रदीन जहांगीर दिल्ली पति साह संवत शताब्दे वर्ष १० विक्रमादित्य राज्ये संवत १६०८ वर्षे कार्तिक सुदी १३ भौमवासरे सुभदिन श्री आदीसुर खड्गत स्थापित श्री श्री तपागच्छाघिपति — ब्रह्मवाद नगरे श्री श्रावक सा, स्वामी दारासाह सहजपाल साह पोकरमल सा. भीमीदास, भैरूदास, वर्द्धमान, गुलावचन्द, सागरचन्द्र, सिंगारचन्द्र, चूहड्मल, साहकल्याणमल, पडगाह-करापितं। सूत्रधार उस्तामोहन उस्ताहरवंश, उस्तादयाल, उस्तामथुरा।

ABBREVIATIONS

EI Epigraphia Indica. IA Indian Antiquary. HIED History of India as told by its own historians. CII Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum. 575 Singhi Jaina Series. Jaina Sāhitya no Samkshipta Itihāsa. 7SSI Annual Report, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer. ARRMA OPS Ojhā Nibandha Sangraha. KB Kharataragaccha Brhadgurvavalī. TNTabkat-i-Nasirī. EIM Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica. PRAS. WC Progress Report of Archaeology, Western Circle Jaina Grantha Pras'asti Sangraha. 7GPS

THE GENEALOGY OF THE SANGAMA DYNASTY

(The Early Part)

By

Miss P. Jhansi Lakshmi, Hyderabad

One of the important problems of the history of the Sangama Dynasty relates to its genealogy. The previous writers on the subject have not taken into account many princes known from inscriptional and other sources. Hence their genealogical accounts are defective. Inscriptions, recently brought to light, supply the names of many more princes. It is necessary, therefore, to reconsider this problem.

The Sangama family is said to have belonged to the lunar race and its origin is traced from Vāsudēva to Yadu and from Yadu to Acyuta. The earliest known members of this dynasty are Bukka, the progenitor, and his son, Sangama, after whom the dynasty is known. This Sangama was born to Bukka and his wife Māgāmbikā. The historicity of these two early members of this family is proved by several records. No details are available regarding the antecedents of Bukka mentioned above.

First Generation

Sangama and his sons. This Sangama seems to have also been called Sangama of Mangalanilaya.² His wife, Kāmāmbikā, gave birth to five sons, Harihara, Kampa, Bukka, Mārappa and Muddappa. Of these, Harihara is described as the eldest of all, while Bukka is compared to Arjuna, the Pāndava-madhyama, implying thereby that he was the third of the five brothers. The Bitragunta grant of Sangama³ says that next to Harihara was born Kampa, making him, thus, the second of the brothers. It is not possible, on account of lack of proper evidence, to determine the

^{1.} Epi. Carn. X Mb 158; Gd 46; NDI ICP No. 15; Loc. Rec. X p. 14.

^{2.} Fur. Sour. p. 38.

^{3.} Epi. Ind. III p. 25.

order of the remaining two brothers, Mārappa and Muddappa. Most writers take them, however, to be the fourth and fifth respectively of the five brothers.

Second Generation

A. Harihara I and his sons. The genealogical accounts given by previous writers are silent about this matter. According to epigraphical evidence Harihara I had two sons, named Sōvanna Odaiyar and Irāynna Odaiyar, who seem to be two different individuals.

Since the inscriptions are beyond dispute, it has to be considered that these two princes were historical personages.

- B. Kampa I and his sons. This second son of Sangama I is known to have had a son, named Sangama, the donor of the Bitragunta grant. The Kampa seems to have had another son, named Śayanna, figuring as an important personality from 1346 A.D., under the name "Vīra Śayanna Odaiyar, son of Kamparaja" and Kumāra Sāyanna Odaiyar. The sources do not help us, however, to determine whether these two princes, Sangama and Śayanna, were born of the same mother.
- C. Bukka I and his sons. Sewell, in one place, states that Bukka I had only one son, named Harihara, and in another place mentions five sons of Bukka I, viz., Harihara, Kampa, Virūpanna, Bhāskara and Mallinātha. According to Rice, Bukka had three sons, Harihara, Chikka-Kampa, and Mallinātha or Mallappa. The South Indian Epigraphist ascribes to Bukka six sons, Harihara,

^{4.} For. Emp. p. 24; Epi. Carn. III Intro.; MER 1908; TTDI; HI p. 400.

^{5.} Epi. Carn. VI Sr. I.

^{6.} MER 366/1914.

⁷⁽a). Epi. Ind. III p. 23.

⁷⁽b). MER 357/1925-26.

^{8.} MER 369/1928-29.

^{9.} For. Emp. p. 24.

^{10.} HI p. 400.

^{11.} Epi. Carn. III. Intro.

Mallinātha, Vīrā-Virūpaṇṇa, Bhāskara, Śāyaṇṇa, and Kampa. 12a Some other writers 12b make mention of seven sons, Harihara, Kampa, Chikka-Kampa, Sangama, Virūpaṇṇa, Bhāskara and Mallinātha. Inscriptions, however, show that Bukka I had eight sons and one daughter. Virūpādēvī, the only daughter of this king known from an epigraph dated 1397 A.D., 13 has not been noticed by most of the previous writers. Because of these discrepancies, the views of the previous writers regarding the number of sons of Bukka I, their historicity and exact position in the genealogy of the Sangama family do not seem to be tenable. Hence it is necessary to discuss this question at length.

Gaurāmbā and Jommādēvi were the only two queens of Bukka I mentioned by previous writers. But inscriptional and literary sources bring to light two more queens, by names Viṭhaladēvī¹⁴ and Dēvāyī.¹⁵ Gaurāmbā was also known as Honnāyī or Honnāmbā.¹⁶ An epigraph of the time of Harihara II states that the village Jambūr had been granted for the merit of Honnāyī "queen of Bukka I" and "mother of Harihara II."¹¹

It is thus clear that Bukka I had at least four queens, Gaurāmbā or Honnāmbā, Jommādēvī, Vithaladēvī and Dēvāyī.

- 1. Harihara II was born to Bukka I and his queen Gaurambā or Honnāmbā. The inscriptions of the other princes also seem to indicate that Harihara II was the first son of Bukka I. Regarding other princes it is difficult to determine their order of birth.
- 2. Virūpaņņa, also known as Udagiri Virūpaņņa, 19 Vandagiriya-Virūpaņņa, 20 Kumāra-Virūpaņņa 21 and Virūpa-

¹²⁽a). MER 1908

¹²⁽b). TTDI and Sour. of Vijayanagar.

^{13.} Epi. Carn. X Bg. Ko.

^{14.} Loc. Rec. XXXI. p. 35.

^{15.} Madhurāvijayam, II. 23 .

^{16.} Loc. Rec. XXXI, p. 251; MER App. E. 106/1939-40.

^{17.} Epi. Carn. V. ch. 256.

^{18.} Ibid.

^{19.} Mys. Arch. 1934, p. 106.

^{20.} Epi. Carn. VIII. Tl. 37.

^{21.} Ibid. No. 30.

rāya,22 is said to have been a son of Bukka and his wife Jommādēvī. He is described as the governor of the Araga23 and Penukonda24 rājyas.

- 3. Mallinatha alias Mallanna and Mallappa, son of Bukka, is mentioned in several records issued by himself.25
- 4. Bhāskara, the donor of the Porumāilla grant26 seem to have been governor of the eastren provinces of the empire.
- 5. Sayanna, son of Bukka, was one of the provincial governors of Bukka I.27
- 6. Kampa (the elder). The Madhurāvijaya states that Bukka I begot three sons, Kampa (the elder), Kampa (the younger) and Sangama, through his wife Devayī.28 This Kampa is also known from a number of inscriptions.29
- 7. Kampa (the younger). A few epigraphs from Mysore district mention this prince as Chikka-Kampa. 30
- 8. Sangama. This son of Bukka I is known only from the Madhurāvijaya.31

Marappa and his sons. Marappa, the fourth of the five brothers, is described as having had a son named Sovanna.32 But an inscription mentions this prince as Hariyanna. 22

Third Generation

Among the eight sons of Bukka I, Virūpanņa, Sangama, Bhāskara and Śāyanna seem to have died without any issue while the others had children.

- 22. Ibid. Ng. 34.
- 23. Ibid. Tl. 23
- 24. Mys. Arch. 1925. p. 73
- 25. Epi. Carn. IX An. 82, 86 and ch. 55.
- 26. Epi. Ind. XIV. p. 97, and vs. 21.
- 27. MER 350/1927-28 and SITI II No. 627.
- 28. Madhurāvijayam, II. 23 to 33 and 40.
- 29. SITI I. No. 110 and MER 431/1913.
- 30. Epi. Carn. III. Ng. 43, 64, 117 and IV. Yd 64, Ch. 97 etc.
- 31. Madhurāvijayam, II. 40.
- 32. Sour. of Vijayanagar; HI p. 400; TTDI etc.
- 33. Mys. Arch. 1934 p. 108.

GENEALOGY OF THE SANGAMA DYNASTY

Harihara II and his sons: Sewell opines that Harihara II begot two sons, Bukka and Devaraya, through his queen Melambika.34 According to Rice, Harihara II married Malladevi and had two sons, Bukka and Dēvarāya alias Pratāpadēvarāya35. While the South Indian Epigraphist of refers to three sons of Harihara II, two other writers add one more son, named Chikka-The account given in the Historical Inscriptions of Rāya. Southern India mentions five sons of Harihara II by his two queens Malladevi and Pampa.38

A careful study of the inscriptions helps us to determine the number of queens of Harihara II and their children. The source material, available so far, brings to light four daughters and six sons of Harihara II.

- 1. Bukka, also called Immadi Bukka, was the eldest son of Harihara II and his wife Pampā.39 But an inscription from Gokarnam clearly states that this son of Harihara was begotten through queen Vithalamba, a princess of the Kadamba family.40
- 2. Virupaksa, son of Harihara and Malladevi, is known from the Sanskrit drama, Nārāyanī-Vilāsām41 and several inscriptions49.
- 3. Dēvarāya. C. P. Grants of this prince describe him as the son of Harihara and Melambika. 43.
- 4. Chikka-Rāya. This prince was the governor of the Muluvāy-rājya for some time."

^{34.} For. Emp. p. 24.

^{35.} Epi. Carn. III. Intro.

^{36.} MER 1908.

^{37.} TTDI and Sour. of Vijayanagar.

^{38.} HI p. 400.

^{39.} Epi. Carn. VI Kp. 25.

^{40.} Loc. Rec. XXXI p. 247 and 287.

^{41.} Sour. of Vijayanagar, p. 53.

^{42.} MER 54/1936-37.

^{43,} Epi. Carn. III. Ml. 121.

^{44.} Epi, Carn, VI. Kp. 31.

- 5. Bhāskararāya, another son of Harihara, figures as the governor of the Araga-rajya.45
- 6. Hariyanna Odaiyar, described as son of Vīra Hariyanna, is known from an epigraph from Tirukkōyilūr46.

Daughters of Harihara II

Inscriptions of the times bring to light four daughters of king Harihara named Gaurādēvi, 47 Vijayalakshmi, 48 Laksmī-Vithalakumāri⁴⁹ and Hariharāmbā,⁵⁰ the last of whom was given in marriage to Kātayavēma, the generalissmo of Kumāragiri, the Reddi ruler of the Kondavidu kingdom.51

- B. Mallinatha and his sons. The view of previous writers with regard to the sons of Mallinatha, one of the brothers of Harihara II, differ widely. Some of them are silent about this matter.52 A prince by name Nārāyana was mentioned as the son of Mallinatha by Rice and others.53 On the other hand, Sewell mentions Chennappa as the only son of Mallinatha54. But there is enough evidence to show that both Narayana and Chennappa were sons of Mallinatha.
- 1. Nārāyaṇa. This prince is described as the son of Mahāmandalēśvara Mallappa Odaiyar.55
- 2. Chennappa. An inscription of the time of Harihara II states that this prince was the son of Mallinatha, brother of Harihara II.56

^{45.} Loc. Rec. XXIX. p. 107.

^{46.} MER 259/1934-35.

^{47.} Loc. Rec. XXXI. p. 342.

^{48.} Ibid. p. 446.

^{49.} Ibid. p. 303.

^{50.} Epi. Ind. XIII. p. 242.

^{51.} His. of the Reddy Kingdom, p. 128.

^{52.} TTDI and For. Emp. p. 24.

^{53.} Epi. Carn. III Intro. and MER 1908.

^{54.} HI p. 400.

^{55.} Epi. Carn. 11I. T. N. 64.

^{56.} Ibid. XII Kn. 43.

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- C. Kampa and his sons. Two of the previous writers ignore the existence of Kampa and his sons.⁵⁷ Those that recognised Kampa's historicity do not mention whether he had any sons. The Epigraphist⁵⁸ mentions a son of Kampa by name Jommanna. Kampa, however, seems to have had many more sons, viz., Jommanna, Sana, Harihara and Sangama.
- 1. Jommanna. Inscriptions of this prince describe him as the son of Kampa and grandson of Bukka.⁵⁹
- 2. Sāyanna. An epigraph from Eyil states this prince to be the son of Kampa. 60
- 3. Harihara. A record from Nallarāļļapalle registers a gift by a Mahāpradhāni of this prince who is described as a son of Kumāra Kampa.⁶¹
- 4. Sangama. This son of Kampa is mentioned in the Alamkāra-sudhānidhi and Mādhavīya-dhātuvṛtti.62
- D. Chikka-Kampa and his son. Excepting Rice, none of the other writers mentions this prince. But an inscription mentions Nanjanna as son of Chikka-Kampa.⁶³

Fourth Generation

A. Bukka II and his sons. Some previous writers state that Bukka II had only one son, named Bhūpati-Odaiyar. The others are silent about this matter. Inscriptions, however, show, beyond doubt, that Bukka II had five sons.

^{57.} For. Emp. p. 24 and Epi. Carn. III. Intro.

^{58.} MER 1908.

^{59.} Ibid. 578/1902.

^{60.} Ibid. 227/1906.

^{61.} Ibid. 221/1931-32.

^{62.} Sour. of Vijayanagar, pp. 48 and 53.

^{63.} Mys. Arch. 1930 p. 155.

^{64.} MER 1908; HI p. 400; Sour. of Vijayanagar, p. xi.

^{65.} For. Emp. p. 24; Epi. Carn. III. Intro. and TTDI.

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- 1. Vīrabhūpati Oḍaiyar. The *Prayōgaratnamālā* describes this prince as son of Bukka II and his wife Tippāmbā. 66 Several records bear this out. 67
- 2. Harihararāya. One of the records of this prince explicitly says that he was the son of Immadi Bukkanna-Odaiyar and a grandson of Hariharamahārāya. 68

The other sons of Bukka II mentioned in the inscriptions are:
3. Dēvarāya. 69 4. Periyapuļiyarāya-Odaiyar 70 and 5. Obaladēva-Mahārāja. 71

- B. Dēvarāya I and his sons. Sewell stated in one place, tha Dēvarāya I begot, through his wife, Dēmāmbikā, a son named Vīravijaya, 12 and in another place that he begot four sons, viz., Vijaya, Mallappa, Harihara and Rāmacandra. Another writer describes Rāmacandra and Dēvarāya as the two sons of Dēvarāya I. The Govt. Epigraphist mentions three sons, viz. Vijaya, Rāmacandra and Harihara. According to Rice, Dēvarāya I had two sons, Vijaya through his wife Dēmāmbikā and Mallanna Oḍaiyar through Mallavve. Besides these, there seem to have been two more sons of this king. It follows from what has been stated above that Dēvarāya had the following seven sons:
- 1. Vijayabhūpati. The Dandēpalli plates of this prince definitely state that he was born to Dēvarāya through Dēmāmbā,

^{66.} Sour. of Vijayanagar, p. 54.

^{67.} MER 3/1903; 62/1908; 284/1914 eto.

^{68.} MER 232/1931-32.

^{69.} Ibid. 525/1928-29.

^{70.} Ibid. 408 and 260/1919.

^{71.} Ibid. 342/1909.

^{72.} For. Emp. p. 24.

^{73.} HI p. 400.

^{74.} Sour. of Vijayanagar. p. xi.

^{75.} MER 1908.

^{76.} Epi. Ind. III. Intro.

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daughter of Nūkabhūpati.⁷⁷ Traditional accounts mention this prince to have been the eldest son of Dēvarāya.⁷⁸ He is also known as Vijayarāya⁷⁹ and Vijaya-Bukka.⁸⁰

- 2. Rāmacandra. This prince appears as the governor of the Udayagirirājya⁸¹ for a long time and is described as the second son of Dēvarāya and a younger brother of Vijayarāya.⁸²
- 3. Harihara. This son of Dēvarāya figures under several names like Harihara Mahārāya, 83 Vīra Harihararāya-Odaiyar, 84 Mahāmandalēs vara Harihararāya, 85 and Pratāpa-Hariappa Odaiyar. 86
- 4. Bhūpati Odaiyar. This prince is known from several records.87
- 5. Bukka. A large number of inscriptions dated between 1422 A.D.⁸⁸ and 1431 A.D.⁸⁹ mention the name of this prince.
- 6. Virūpākṣa. This prince is one of the sons of Dēvarāya I hitherto not known. There are four records which mention him. 90

^{77.} Epi. Ind. XIV. p. 69.

^{78.} Loc. Rec. VIII. p. 30.

^{79.} MER 324/1912.

^{80.} Epi. Carn. XII p. 88.

^{81.} NDI I. C. P. No. 1.

^{82.} Loc. Rec. VIII. p. 30.

^{83.} Mys. Arch. 1924, p. 59.

^{84.} MER 596/1905.

^{85.} Ibid. 225/1920.

^{86.} Mys. Arch. 1923 p. 87.

^{87.} MER 75/1908; 406 and 409/1937-38 and 115/1943-44.

^{88.} Epi. Carn. X Kl. 178.

^{89.} MER 66/1912.

^{90.} Epi. Carn. X Bg. 19; MER 375/1923 etc.

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7. Mallanna. Inscriptions state that this prince was born to Devaraya through his wife Mallavve. 91

From what has been stated above it is clear that most of the current opinions regarding the genealogy of the early rulers of the Sangama Dynasty and the position of non-reigning princes of this family are not full and tenable. In the above account the errors have been corrected, the omissions have been filled up and additional information, obtainable from inscriptional and other sources, has been incorporated.

^{91.} Epi. Carn. XI Cd. 14,

THE ORISSA REBELLION OF 1741

By

Dr. Bhabani Charan Ray, Cuttack

Murshid Quli Khan II was a popular Governor of Orissa when Aliwardi became the Nawab of Bengal. The latter out of malice drove away the former from Orissa. Murshid Quli in disappointment fled to the kingdom of the Nizam¹. His Begum and some amount of wealth which were left behind him during his flight were sent to him afterwards through the good services of the Raja of Khurda.²

Aliwardi now appointed S'aid Ahmad Khan surnamed Mahamuddaulah Saulat Jang, his second son-in-law, to the Government of Orissa. It is said that this young man was of 'voluptuous character'. So Gurjar Khan, one of the able and veteran Rohilla generals, was appointed at the head of an army consisting of three thousand cavalry and four thousand infantry to assist him. This new army commander was however authorised to increase the number of troops in consultation with the Governor in accordance with the exigencies of time. The Governor received the title of Nasir-ul-mulk S'aid Ahmad Bahadur Salabat Jang from the Emperor through the effort of Aliwardi.

Formerly Ahmad was merely a faujdar at Rangpur. But now as he assumed the power of a province he thought too much of himself. He did not pay any attention to the good advices of Gurjar Khan. He planed for money and pleasure.

He curtailed the salaries of his troops and bodyguards. This brought discontentment among them. Many good, able and faithful Bengal soldiers who came to Orissa to serve under him for bettering their fortunes and who were drawing a decent pay found themselves in disappointing and unfavourable circumstances. Now they found life in Orissa hard-pressing, difficult and unmanageable.

^{1.} Siyar, Eng. Tr., Vol. I, pp. 349-53.

^{2.} Ibid, p. 354.

^{3.} Ibid, pp. 355-6.

So most of them left their services and returned to their homes. The vacancies thus created were filled with native soldiers. But they themselves were not happy owing to low pay. Moreover most of them were previously appointed as such under Murshid Quli's rule and had won reputation for their loyalty to him. The most important of them were generals like Salim Khan, Darnesh Khan, Nizamat Khan, and Mir Aziz.

Ahmad could save some money by this curtailing of military expenditure. But he utilised it in procuring women to satisfy his lust. He indulged in this activity enthusiastically when a certain vagabond fakir named Shah Yahya arrived at his court. He had previous intimacy with Ahmad at Shahjahanabad and therefore could make himself a prominent figure in the court of Cuttack. At Yahya's suggestion houses of rich persons suspected to have been the hoarding places of the wealth of the dispossessed Governor (Murshid Quli) were recklessly haunted by the troops; along with the acquisition of the wealth that was available, young and beautiful women were taken to the presence of the ruler in the pretext of giving evidence. Besides this the fakir could keep information as to the beautiful girls available in the different parts of the country through the agents and adopted forcible and foul means in getting them into the harem of the Governor. Ghulam Husain has recorded that these vile, heinous and insensible deeds were practised to such an extent that life, honour and property were insecure and filled with much anxiety: "The systematic hunting of woman from household to household and forcible seizure of property left the Governor few friends"; "the cries of the oppressed reached the cupola of heaven."5

Ahmad's oppression was not confined to this Certain rich people had already been exempted from paying the outstanding balances during the rule of Murshid Quli. They were now forced to pay the balances to Ahmad's government.

^{4.} Ibid, pp. 359-60; Riyas, Eng. Tr. pp. 332-33.

^{5.} Siyar, pp. 360-61.

B. Ibid.

ORISSA REBELLION OF 1741

As a result, the people of the country, more particularly those in the city, grew dissatisfied with Ahmad's government. Many aggrieved people of Cuttack entered into conspiracy with the newly appointed soldiers of Ahmad's army who were loyal to Murshid Quli. Mirza Baqar, son-in-law of Murshid Quli, had settled in a Zamindari on the border of Orissa. In order to take revenge on the wrongs done to his father-in-law he kept himself informed as to the reaction of the people against Ahmad's administration. He had contact with many in the dissatisfied native army and the natives employed in Ahmad's household whom he strongly encouraged to rise in open revolt. Shah Murad, once the saviour of the family of Murshid Quli, took the leading part in the conspiracy formed in consultation with Mirza Baqar to fall upon Gujar Khan and his troops.

Accordingly sedition was raised at Cuttack; disturbances took place with utmost uproar. Soon the whole city turned to be a breeding place of conspirators filled with revolting activities. When the situation appeared beyond control and cries of rebels were heard in almost all the streets Gurjar Khan was asked to pacify them. But he soon fell a victim to the fire of insurrection. Husain Beg who was a great force in Ahmad's oppressive government was also killed. So Ahmad ordered Oasim Beg, Superintendent of the Artillary department, and Shaikh Hadiatullah, faujadar of Cuttack, to march against the insurgents and control the situation. But in the absence of proper escort Qasim Beg was killed. Hadiatullah, being wounded, fled for dear life. In the thick of the rising, the presence of Mirza Bagar at Cuttack with 500 Mahratta soldiers from the Deccan encouraged the insurgents and made them more formidable than before. planned to seize the person of Ahmad and proceeded to that part of the city where Ahmad was staying. Mirza Baqar at the head of the rebels asked the citizens to frighten the old and faithful officers of Ahmad in charge of the gates of the palace into submission. Accordingly the few musketeers holding the gates were informed "that if they set them open directly, quarter would be given to

^{7.} Ibid, p. 361.

them; else if they waited until Mirza Bakyr should force them to open them they might depend upon receiving the treatment they deserved." At this the keepers of the gates were frightened and they opened the gates. The insurgents entered triumphant into the palace in August 1741. Ahmad was confined there. His wife and children and some other relatives were made prisoners and and sent to the fort of Barabati. Mirza Baqar made himself the master of Cuttack. To extend his power he sent his army towards Midnapur and Hugli and they were soon occupied.

The character of the rebellion shows that most of the people in the city and countryside joined the rebellion. A large number of noble families and members of the army took a leading part in effecting a coup-d'etat. When Mirza Baqar joined them the scheme was an entire success.

After the flight of Murshid Ouli from Orissa his relatives had instigated Raghuji Bhonsla to plunder the kingdom of Aliwardi. Nizam-ul-mulk was in apprehension of Maratha raid from Nagpur. In order to divert Raghuji's attention to a different direction he had been suggesting to him to raid Bengal. Now the rebellion that overthrew Ahamad's government brought discredit on Aliwardi's rule. As a result Aliwardi lost popular support in Orissa. Although he could reinstate his power temporarily, popular sympathy generally went to his enemies. Mirza Bagar's success confused the state of affairs and the unpopularity of Aliwardi in Orissa revealed the weakspot in Aliwardi's kingdom to Raghuji who was convinced that predatory raids particularly into that part of Aliwardi's kingdom might force Aliwadi to pay chauth. So a short time after the rebellion of 1741 Raghuji's Maratha soldiers entered Orissa. And the Maratha invasion that started in this situation ultimately brought about the end of the Muslim rule in Orissa.

^{- 8.} Ibid. pp. 361-64,

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A Note on Tris'ūlapuruṣa or Representation of the Trident in human form

Dr. N. P. Joshi

STUDIES IN TEMPLE SUPERSTRUCTURES IN EARLY MEDIEVAL TELENGANA

By

M. Radhakrishna Sarma, Hyderabad

In Early Medieval Telengana there are temples with superstructure and also without it. Thus the early tradition of flatroofed temples found, for instance, among the Gupta temples, is continued here, along with the later tradition of having superstructure. This point is of considerable interest. The superstructure in a Hindu temple has symbolic significance. We find the Prāsāda rising bodily towards a high point, "the zenithal pole of realisation where this world ends and that world begins, the point limit of the manifest and the unmanifest, the Bindu."2 In the early flat-roofed temples the idea of elevation is not complete and it is the superstructures which became the architectural expression of the idea of elevation. Inside the garbhagrha the superstructure has no effect but that of darkness if it is hollow and generally a ceiling occupies the position of a flat-roof.3 Elevation of mind comes with concentration. Concentration is possible only when distractions are conquered. The bandhas of the world, its cares and temptations, should be discarded, before the Bindu could be reached. The pilgrim's progress, therefore, is a progress from sthula to suksma, from the mass to the pin-point. It is this aspect that the superstructure symbolises in its tapering shape. Poets have always gone into ecstasy about the shining kalasas crowning the superstructure.4 Inscriptions use hyperbole when describing these.

^{1.} Examples for temples with superstructure: Svarga Brahma temple at Alampūr, temples at Kalabgur, Nandikandi, Falampet and Pillalamarri. Examples without superstructure: Temples at Alampūr, Papavinaseni Tirtha, the Triple-shrine temple at Hanumakonda and some temples at Kolanupaka and Warangal.

^{2.} Hindu Temple, Stella Kramrisch, Vol. I, page 179.

^{3.} Most of the temples in Telengana have ceiling. At Patancheru the superstructures on some shrines are hollow.

^{4.} See Panditārādhya Caritra.

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Prāsādāgrē yasya sauvarņakumbhaḥ spaṣṭam bhāti dyōtitākāsadēsaḥ \ (sasvatpūrvakshōṇibhruttunga-)? sthāyi sphītādityabimbaprakāsaḥ || 5

"On the top of the temple (Rāmappa) of this (God) shines distinctly a golden cupola, illuminating the space of the sky, always having the brilliance of a huge sun's orb standing on the lofty peak of the Eastern Mountain." The attention of a devotee is first drawn to the shining kalasas of a temple and from a distance he recognises a temple by its superstructure. While in the north lofty curvilinear sikharas were rising and in the south loftier gopuras are being designed, it is interesting to note the remarkable strength with which earlier traditions persisted in this region.

Before going into the details of the superstructure it would be appropriate to explain why in this paper the term superstructure was preferred to other Sanskrit terms like sikhara generally used by writers on temple architecture.

That part of the temple which rises from the perpendicular walls of the prāsāda and covers the garbhagṛha is given various names by the several writers on temple architecture. "There is one other peculiarity common to both Hindu and Jaina architecture in the north of India that requires notice, before proceeding to describe particular examples. It is the form of the towers or spires called sikharas or vimāna which invariably surmount the cells in which the images are placed." Fergusson, therefore, treats tower, spire, sikhara and vimāna as equivalents. "Throughout the greater part of the country, the sanctuary as a whole is known as the vimānas, of which the upper and pyramidal or tapering portion is called the sikhara, meaning or spire" says Percy Brown, considering tower, spire and sikharas as carrying the

^{5.} Rāmappa and other Temples at Palampet, Page 21. Text of Inscription, verse 46.

^{6.} HIEA, Fergusson; Vol. I. P. 322.

^{7.} IABH, Percy Brown, p. 75.

same meaning, while vimāna has a different significance. "Śik(h)ara, applied to the summit of a of a tower", writes Rea. Sikhara is used in the same sense in the Mysore Archaeological Reports. Tower is used to mean the superstructure. to Stella Kramrisch calls the chapter dealing with this part of the temple as 'The Superstructure' 11 and the term Sikhara is applied to the curvilinear superstructure.12 Thus, while the English terms tower, spire and superstructure are applied to this part of the temple by all the modern writers on the temple architecture, they disagree in the usage of the Sanskrit terms vimāna and sikhara. Especially over the usage of the latter term a fierce controversy has been raging, some using it for the entire superstructure and the others for only the top of the tower. Inscriptional evidence only contributes to the controversy over the usage of sikhara and vimana; cf.:

Śrī-Kondaparti-nagarē Pedamuttu-gandanāmnātha caunda-prtanāpatinā vyadhāyi I prāsāda ēsa sikharē vipulē yadīyē pusnāti hēma-kalaśaśriyam arkabimbam | (29)

Prāsādasya samunnatasya Śikharam sauvarnam uddipta-dikcakram bhāti bhrs'am Sivasya mukuṭālamkārabhūtam kalam! candrasya prasamīksya nirbharatarāsūyānvitō bhāskarah Prāsādasya vibhūṣaṇāya kalasibhūyēva nityam sthitah 1 (30)

Śailendranilavimalopala(k)lpiteşu prākāraramya-Sikharesu samunnatēsu tārā sphuranti vipulā vimala-prakāśā dīpāvalī viracitēva suraih samantāt | (34)13

"(v. 29) In the city of Kondaparti was then built this temple by General Caunda' (who was also) known as Pedamuttu-ganda;

^{8. &#}x27;Chalukyan Architecture', Arch. Sur., New Imp. Series, Vol. XXI, p. 39.

^{9.} MAR 1932, p. 34.

^{10.} MAR 1932, g.

^{11.} The Hindu Temple, Vol. I, p. 179.

^{12.} Ibid. p. 205.

^{13.} Corpus of Telengana Inscriptions, No. 8, Kondiparti Instription of Caunda, pp. 31-32.

the splendour of the golden kalasa, on whose big sikhara, is heightened by the disc of the sun. (v. 30): The golden sikhara which lights up all the quarters around, (and which is) on the top of the very high temple, appears very much as if the very Sun stationed himself there for ever, transforming himself into the kalasa for becoming the (crest-) ornament of the temple in seething envy at the sight of the digit of the Moon which had become the crown-jewel of Siva. (v. 34): On the top of the very high beautiful sikharas, on the rampart inlaid with pure blue gems of the mountains, big stars of pure lustre shine as if they were a row of lamps arranged all round by the Gods." Sikhara is used to denote the top portion of the turret built over the main shrine and the gateway of a temple15 Sikhara is used to denote the spire in "Dēvuniki sikharamu gattimci Śikharasome inscriptions. mantapa-gopuralu." Some inscriptions use vimana as an equivalent of tower. "Nirmiśi prakara-svarna-kalasa-yukta-gopura vimanasahitam": created the Camarajes'vara temple together with its precincts, gopura adorned with golden kalasas, and tower." Vimana is used in the sense of a shrine in Yenamadala inscription of Ganapāmbā.18 When we turn to original texts on architecture, they help us only to deepen the controversy. For instance Aparājitaprechā uses sikhara in the sense of tower. The (solid) dome-shaped roof or cupola is called sikhara in South Indian Vāstus'āstra.19

varṣātapādivāraṇakalyaiḥ s'ulbādikalpitaiḥ phalakaiḥ l sārēṣṭakādibhir vā Vimānasikharam tataḥ supidadhātu || 51 || 20

The phrase "vimānašikharam" is translated as 'šikhara' of the 'vimāna',²¹ Vimāna meaning the temple as a whole.²² Vimāna is used for tower in Mānasāra; cf.

- 14. Ibid, pp. 39-40.
- 15. Ibid, Glossary, p. 210.
- 'Kondavidu inserip. of Krishnaraya,' V. 27; Ep. Ind. Vol. VI, pp. 237, 232.
- 17. Ep. Carnat., Vol. IV, Chamarajnagar Taluk, No. 86; Roman Text, p. 18, lines 8-9; Trans. p. 11.
- 18. V. 17, Ep. Ind., Vol III, pp. 99 102.
- 19. The Hindu Temple, Vol. I, p. 262, footnote 57.
- 20. N. V. Mallayya, p. 60.
- 21. Ibid, p. 61.
- 22. Ibid p. 274.

tad-ūrdhve ca vimānam ca vēdikā-vēdikantakam.23

It is clear from the above discussion that the terms vimāna and sikhara have been employed in various senses. A discussion of their etymology in which N. V. Mallayya enters 24 cannot alter this fact. The use of the word sikhara brings in its wake terms related to it such as sikhā, sikhānta and sikhāmani. In the circumstances, in order to avoid confusion, the general English term "superstructure" is used in this paper to denote the entire part of the temple rising over the garbhagrha, whether it is curvilinear or pyramidal. The names by which the different parts of the different superstructures are known are used appropriately.

The superstructures extant in Telengana represent an amazing variety. It would be proper to discuss each superstructure and at the end arrive at their classification into types.

I. The curvilinear superstructure found on the Svarga Brahma, Garuda Brahma, Bāla Brahma, Vīra Brahma and Vis'va Brahma temples at Alampūr form a class by themselves. All the examples at Alampūr are alike in all the details. Some have suffered the ravages of time. As this type of superstructure is common north of the Krishna river and is an exception south of it, we should look into the north Indian texts on vāstu for terms to describe its various parts.

The curvilinear superstructures of Alampür compare with those of the Rēkhā temples of Orissa. The various parts of the superstructure of a Rēkhā temple are mentioned in the Canons of Orissan Architecture.²⁵ The curvilinear tower is called the gandi (lit. the trunk of the body)²⁶ and is followed by mastaka or Crown.²⁷ The offsets of the gandi are called pagas of which the central projection in the shape of a broad offset is known as rāha paga.²⁸ The gandi is composed of different elements along the various

^{23.} M, XXII, 57. Ency., p. 462.

^{24.} Pp. 267-268.

^{25.} Canons of Orissan Architecture by N. K. Bose, pp. 79, 91, 92.

^{26.} Ibid, p. 91.

^{27.} Ibid, p. 79.

^{28.} Ibid, p. 186.

pagas. The outermost paga is subdivided into a number of bhūmis or planes, each of which is composed of a number of mouldings surmounted by a miniature amla, called the bhumi-amla or amla of the plane.29 After the gandi comes the visama (lit. the irregular one), which is also called the vedi or altar. The curvilinear tower ends with the vedi, and is followed by the mastaka. It is made up of the beki or throat, followed by the amla and the khapuri or skull, this being surmounted by the kalasa or waterpot. 30 We can adopt these terms in describing the Alampur superstructures. The three-fold division of the superstructure into the gandi referring to the curvilinear postion, the vedi and the mastaka or the crowning portion may be retained as it makes a satisfactory analysis of the superstructure. Referring to vēdi, Stella Kramrisch writes: "Reiterated in name, elevated in position and meaning, on a higher level of the temple, once more, the name vēdi is given to the upper position of its superstructure, the sikhara (47th footnote) on which is placed its crowning part, the amalaka, and then the finial. This vēdi may be called the uttaravēdi of the temple."31 This vēdi or the horizontal plate which forms the platform on the top of the gandi is known generally as skandha or shoulder. 32 But in Aparājitaprechā, skandha is the top of a prāsāda from which the sikhara emerges, while sikhara is that portion of the spire that rises above the skandha and ends in the āmalasāra, kalasa etc., i.e., it is, so to say, the uṣnīṣa of a prāsāda.33 In this essay gandi being the body and mastaka being the head, the intermediary part called vēdi becomes skandha or shoulder. Instead of the word beki, or throat, used in the Orissan temles, its Sanskrit equivalent gala or grīvā meaning neck or clerestory, used generally by writers on temple artchitecture,34 may be employed in this paper.

The first thing that strikes one looking at the curvilinear superstructure of Alampur is its striking contrast with the walls

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^{29.} Ibid, p. 91.

^{30.} Ibid, p. 92.

^{31.} Hindu Temple, Vol. I, p. 147.

^{32.} Ibid, p. 148, footnote 49.

^{33.} Aparājitaprechā, Introduction, p. xlv.

^{34.} Ancient India, No. 14, p. 129.

of the temple. Examining the temples here from this point of view, it becomes evident that they compare with the temples at Aihole and Pattadakal and not with the temples of Orissa. While in the latter, the superstructure rises from the walls of the prasada, in the case of the former temples the walls of the prāsāda terminate and the curvilinear superstructure rises above the garbhagrha from the flat roof. The earliest inscriptions belong to the Badami Calukyan dynasty. One is an inscription on the fort wall dated 626 śāka, (704 A. D.), belonging to Vijayāditya who ruled from 696 to 733 A. D.35 Another is an inscription on the dvarapala of the Svarga Brahma temple belonging to Vinayaditya. 36 The evidence that these temples of Alampur existed even in the 7th century must be corroborated by architectural evidence. As Kramrisch writes, the combination of hall temples were not continued beyond the ninth century.37 This point fixes the upper limit of the Alampur temples at 9th century A.D. but comparison of Alampur temples with Aihole and Pattadakal temples would again fix the date of the former in the 7th century A.D.

The very term "Curvilinear superstructure" indicates that it is the curve which is the most significant characteristic of it. A comparison of the various curvilinear superstructures would show that they differ in the nature and acuteness of their curve. The gandi of the Rikhā temple in Orissa rises straight up to a short height and then begins to curve inwards at an increasing rate. While Alampūr superstructures have the Orissan curve, they differ from the latter in lacking the straight rise of the gandi. In this respect the Alampūr temples and the temples of Aihole and Pattadakal are similar. The curve starts from the beginning of the superstructure.

The construction of the curvilinear sikhara is a fascinating study. Texts on Vāstuśāstrā have dealt with this aspect. The subject of rēkhā or the profile of a spire above the principal prāsāda is treated in sūtras 139 and 140 of Aparājitaprechā. P. A. Mankad has commented on this aspect. The question of

- 35. Telengana Inscriptions, p. 172-173.
- 36. Alampura Ksetramu, p. 9.
- 37. Hindu Temple, Vol, I, page 285, Footnote 88.
- 38. Introduction to Aparājitaprechā, pp. xlv-lxiv.
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rekhā involves a method of setting out curves etc., in mid air almost analogous to the graphic representation by means of coordinates. The considerarion of rekhā involves the description of the technical details, as: (i) kalā or a digit, a division, a part of a khanda. (ii) khanda or a piece, a uniform (straight or curved) portion of a spire wherein the curvature remains practically of the same degree of acuteness. (iii) Cara or a division, one that accompanies or is collaterally agreeing with kalā in a certain ratio. (iv) Valana or a bend either towards the central axis of a prāsāda or away from it. It may thus be concave or convex. (v) Gajaprstha or a longitudinal rounded top of a prāsāda. According to one aspect, rekhā is divided into khandas which may be as many as three to eighteen, i.e. in all, sixteen in number. The first is known as Trikhanda, the second Catuskhanda, the third Pañcakhanda, rising successively to Astādasakhanda. (Aparājitaprechā, sūtra 139, ślokas 1 to 3). These rēkhās from Trikhanda to Aştādasakhanda go by specific names. These are the Samacāratrikhanda, Samacaracatuskhanda, Samacarapancakhanda etc., Samacara Astadasakhanda Rekhas. They are 16 in number. Over and above these Samacara Rakhas in different khandas from 3 to 18 there are again fifteen caras under each of them, viz. Trikhanda to Astādasakhanda. They are as follows: (i) Sapāda (one and a quarter), (ii) Sārdha (one and a half), (iii) Pādonadvaya (one and three quarters), (iv) Dviguna (double), (v) Sapada dviguna (two and a quarter), (vi) Sārdhadviguna (two and a half), (vii) Pādonatraya (two and three quarters), (viii) Traya (Three times), (ix) Pādādhikatraya (three and a quarter), (x) Sārdhatraya (three and a half; (xi) Padonacatuska (three and three quarters), (xii) Caturguna (four times), (xiii) Sapādacatuska (four and a quarter), (xiv) Sārdhacatuska (four and a half), and (xv) Pādonapañcaka (four and three quarters) cara. Thus the total number of caras including samacāra under each of these khandas comes upto 16, and 16 khandas with 16 caras under each make up 16x16 = 256 rēkhās in all. This is only one way of arriving at the rekhas. These 256 rekhas have specific names of their own. Samacāra in these 16 khanda rekhās gives rise to a straight profile of the spire from its base to its top below the kalasa, not vertical but slanting towards the central axis so far as its form goes. In its constructive aspect samacāra

means that the kalās in each khanda are equal; for example, Samacara in Trikhandarekha has 8 kalas in the lower khanda, the same number of kalās in the khanda higher up and also in the topmost khanda. Sapādacāra has its kalās so arranged that the number of kalās in the topmost khanda is one and a quarter times the number of kalās in the lowest khanda. For example, Trikhanda-Sapādacāra has 8 kalās in the bottom khanda, 9 kalās in the central, and 10 kalās, i.e., $8x1\frac{1}{4} = 10$, in the topmost khanda. It proceeds Astādasa-rēkhā. While Samacāra diagrammatically represents a slanting straight line in sapādacāra, the curvature starts from the second khanda (the first khanda being a slanting straight line) and goes on increasing in acuteness as one proceeds from the second khanda to the third, from the third to the fourth and so on. It is most acute in the topmost khanda of Astādasa-khandarēkhā. Mankad says that the subject of Rekha is touched upon only in one aspect of its arrangement and that for other varieties of disposition of kalā, cāra etc., Rēkhārnava and other works may be consulted with advantage. The spire with its varying degree of acuteness in the different proportions of the its profile had specific names. This would facilitate the builders at once to understand what calculations would be necessary to carry out to arrive at a particular number of kalās and cāras in the profile referred to. Mankad further says: "It is not to be supposed that there exists nothing like Ekakhanda and Dvikhanda Rekhā. In fact they do exist but the scanty reference to them is due to lack of constructive complexity as is met with in Trikhanda to Astādasakhandas. One arrangement of Ekakhandarēkhā is referred to in Prāsādamandana."38

Stella Kramrisch refers to Hayasīrṣapañcarātra, XIII. 324, Agnipurāṇa, XLII. 15-17, Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra, chapters LVI and LVII, and 'Bṛhacchilparsāstra' with a modern commentary in Gujarāti, and says that the batter of the curved outline of this type of the sikhara is determined by means of a division in geometrical progression. Vertical parallels are drawn which are intersected at certain regular intervals by horizontals and the curve

^{39.} Ibid, p. xlviii.

of the horizontal is drawn through points of intersection and vertical lines. But the curves in Brhacchilpasāstra are not drawn through points of intersection of the horizontal and vertical lines.40 In the Canons of Orissan Architecture, LXXIV and LXXV, this subject is dealth with, but the data given does not appear to illustrate a mathematical rule. In LXXVIII, giving the meaning of the term rekhagunaghata, it is said that it is the sum, in angulas. of the set-back of the gandi from the baranda, the batter of the gandi, and that of the visama.41 We may conclude on this point with Kramrisch that "the methods practised by the ancients can be ascertained only by measuring the batter of the extant sikharas and correlating these measurements with the formula given in the Vāstusāstras.42 It is marvellous that the Indian builders without the present-day scientific appliances could handle such problems. In fact it is a tribute to their inventive genius.

The curvilinear superstructure at Alampur may be divided into three sections, the Gandi, Skandha and Mastaka. Taking the Gandi first, it consists of a central offset or Raga paga with a narrow receding plane on either side and the two outer offsets of pagas. In this respect the Alampur structure resembles similar structures at Aihole and Pattadakal. The outer pagas are divided into four bhūmis, each crowned by an āmalaka, a flattened cogged stone. While the bhūmis in Orissan temples are more in number, in Pattadakal and Aihole there are only three. Each bhūmi consists of four mouldings with a recess in between each pair of mouldings as in the case of the temple of Galaganātha at the Patțadakal. Extending from the base of the second moulding of the bhumi to the top of the fourth is a gavaksa. The amalaka, which is flattended and square-shaped is more like those on the Pāpanātha and Galagnātha temples at Pattadakal than the āmalakas on the Mahakutes'vara and Aihole temples. While miniature pavilions consisting of two pilasters surmounted by the gavākṣa motif are carved in the receding planes, the raha paga consists of a chain of gavākṣas of a simple pattern as on the Galagnātha temple

^{40.} The Hindu Temple, pp. 207-210.

^{41.} pp. 109-114.

^{42.} The Hindu Temple, p. 208, footnote 61.

at Pattadakal. The rāha paga extends over the skandha. The above description of the gaṇḍi brings the Alampur superstructure nearer to Aihole and Pattadakal than to those of Orissa.

The Skandha which is also called the Vedi covers the top of the gandi and gives it its tuncated shape. The plate of "Ruined Rekha Temple at Telkupi, Manbhum" given in the Canons of Orissan Architecture, facing page 120, gives an idea of the interior of a superstructure. In this temple after the tower had risen to a certain hight, a horizontal course of stones is laid across the walls to form a roof over the garbhagrha. The temple has five bhumis in the gandi with the skandha at the top. A similar course of stones has also been laid immediately after the third bhūmi, thus forming another chamber above the garbha. These horizontal courses serve a very useful purpose, functioning as tie-plates between the otherwise insecure sides of the rekhā. It is not possible to say whether the Alampur superstructure interior is exactly like this, though the same principle should have been followed to a certain extent. "The stone Sikhara is built generally by corbelling (kadalikā-karana; Tantrasamuccaya, II.47), of courses of cut stone overlapping each other inside, until they meet and close the opening. It is covered by the horizontal plate (skandha) which forms the platform on top of its trunk." 43

The Mastaka of the superstructure consists of grīvā, āmalaka, khāpuri and kalasa. To the east of the superstructure is the antefix.

The inscriptional evidence, the simplicity in the architectural and sculptural patterns on the superstructure and the resemblance with the Aihole and Pattadakal superstructures definitely indicate that the Alampūr superstructures belong to the 7th centūry A.D.

It is surprising and puzzling why in the History of the Deccan, Volume I, Part VIII: Fine Arts, it is written about these: "But the spires of the temples Alampūr, constructed about the same period (twelfth century A.D.), are so ingeniously overladen with decorative detail that they appear to be almost replicas of the Lingaraja temple at Bhuvanesvar, in Orissa." "44"

^{43.} Ibid, p. 148, footnete 49.

^{44.} p. 22.

II. Among the many superstructures one comes across at the site called the Pāpavināsenī Tīrtha, a mile south of Alampur on the bank of the Tungabhadra River, that which strikes most is the longitudinal rounded top. Unfortunately it is ruined and the body of the temple is buried in the ground awaiting exacavation. But from the protions visible it is possible to say that it is an apsidal structure. As the temple faces north, the southern end of the temple is apsidal. The superstructure is made of stone. Above the walls of the temple rise two thick courses composed of pieces of stone cut to form an apsidal end on the south and a truncated end on the north. Over these two, steps made of similar stone pieces are placed following the shape below. While these are thin, the course that rises above them is thick and forms the grīvā. A moulded band resting on the grīvā projects slightly. The longitudinal rounded top rises over this. It is truncated at the northern end and is apse at the southern end. Four courses consisting of stone pieces cut to that shape are arranged one above the other. The edges of these courses are carefully bevelled so as to give the shape of a slight inward curve. The top is closed by a stone with a rounded top with its edges flowing into the curve of the lower courses, thus completing the circular shape.

The apsidal plan is first found in the Buddhist caityas, but in the cave structures it was not possible to have an idea of the top or even of the back. Thus the structural Buddhist caityas at Ter and Chēzerla showing their exterior are important. Belonging to this shape of building is the Nakula-Sahadēva Ratha at Māmallapuram cut out during the time of the Pallava Narasimhavarman I Mamalla who ruled between 630 and 668 A.D. The apsidal temples at Kuram, Kalambakkam, Vīraṭṭānes'vara temple at Tiruttani and the apsidal south-facing shrine at the foot of the hill at Tirukkaļikkunram show that it was a popular type with the Pallavas. The Vadamallēśvara temple at Oragadam and the Gudimallam temple are examples sufficient to show that this tradition was continued by the Cōlas.

The apsidal structure at Alampūr referred to above is the only example that the writer has met with in the Telengana. In

the present state of the temple and with the available data it is difficult to fix its date. Taking the group of temples in the Pāpanāśeni Tīrtha as a whole, the period of their construction could be calculated in general terms. There seems to be justification in this as the temples here seem to have sprung up about the same time as a result of some religious movement and the nature of the rough stone used and the similarity in style support this view.

Tradition attributes 64 tīrthas to Alampūr. The Sthala-purāņa enumerates them. Of these the most important is said to be the Pāpavinās'eni Tīrtha. The Tīrthas of Alampūr are also referred to by Pālkurki Sōmanātha Kavi in his Paṇḍitārādhya caritra. He mentions it as one of the ordinary tīrthas. Anyway these Tīrthas seem to have been famous by the time of Pālkurki Sōmanātha Kavi who lived at the end of the 12th century. If Pāpavināśeni Tīrtha was famous by the end of 12th century, the temples also should have been existing by then. On one of the pillars in the main temple of this group is an inscription of the time of Trailōkyamalla mentioning a grant to Śaktipaṇḍita. He ruled in the 11th century. This brings down the upper limit of the date of the construction of these temples to the 11th century. Having fixed the upper limit reasonably, we may attempt to fix the lower limit also.

The rarity of apsidal temples in Telengana may be taken to indicate that the Chēzerla and Ter traditions were not continued, though the apsidal ground-plan with 'dagoba' at one end have influenced the ground-plans of the Nava Brahma temples at Alampūr. If so, the Alampūr apsidal structural temple should have been the result of the influence from elsewhere. The Pallavas exerted great influence over the region under study. While the Pallavas srarted building structural apsidal temples from the time of Paramēs'varavarman who ruled from 672-700 A.D., they continued it even in time of Aparājitavarman, one of the last rulers

^{45.} Skandapuraņāntargata Śrī-Brahmeśvarakṣetra Māhātmyam, page 28 śloka 3.

^{46.} Ibid, p. 48.

^{47.} Almpura Kseiramu, p. 46.

of the Pallava dynasty at the end of the ninth century as is evidenced by the example of the apsidal Vīraṭṭānēs'vara temple an Tiruttani built in his time. From the middle of the ninth century the Colas continued building apsidal temples in the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. As no special characteristic of the Colas is found on the apsidal monument at Alampūr, it might be contemporary with the Pallava apsidal temples. If so the date of the apsidal temple at Alampūr may be fixed between 8th and the middle of the 9th centuries. Anyway the lower limit of this temple would be the 8th century and the upper limit the 11th century.

The comparison of the Alampur structure with the Ter structure¹⁹ shows that while both roofs consist of a truncated front and an apsidal back, they differ in certain constructional details. The barrel-vaulted roof at Ter is of brick carefully corbelled inwards to form the vault, and rising to a ridge, all carefully plastered. At Alampur instead of bricks, stone pieces cut to the required shape are used and the structure does not rise to a ridge as a covering stone is used at the top. The Chēzerla temple 50 which is built on the same principles as the Ter structure is wide in front and somewhat less at the apse. In this respect Pāpavināseni structure resembles the Ter rather than the Chēzerla structure. The Alampur structure compares with the superstructure of the Nakula ratha51 and other Pallava superstructures of this type in that they do not rise to a ridge,52 The gables carved on the sides of Nakula-Sahadeva superstructure is absent at Alampur and it is severely crude and plain as the brick superstructure of Tirunāgēs'vara temple at Kolambakkam.53 This discussion of the constructional details also support the above conclusions.

The apsidal form from its resemblance to the back of a standing elephant is called the Gaja-pṛṣṭha or the Hasti-pṛṣṭha. "The present structure (of the temple of Paramēśvara, where-

^{48.} Ancient India, No. 14, p, 137.

^{49.} HIEA. Vol. I, Fig. 48.

^{50.} Ibid, Fig. 51.

^{51.} The Art of the Pallavas.

^{52.} Longhurst, Pallava Architecture, pt. III.

^{53.} Ancient India, No. 14. Plate LIV.

from the five inscriptions at Gudimallam are copied) is not after the common model of the period to which it belongs: the vimāna has the so-called gaja-pṛṣṭhākṛṭi but a close study of the plan and sections warrant the conclusion that the architect had distinctly in view the linga⁵⁴ and "hence the vimāna might better be styled a lingākṛṭi-vimāna.⁵⁵ In the texts Gaja-pṛṣṭha or Hasti-pṛṣṭha is the name given to this form.

svābhīṣṭē pariṇāhamānanicayē dhāmnaścatuḥṣaṣṭibhāgōnē 'ṣṭādaśadhā kṛtē 'rṇavamitair aṁs'aiḥ pṛthak kalpayēt l pārśvadvandvasamāyatī mukhatatim ca dvyaṁśasūtrabhramāt prāyaḥ sāṅghrirasāṁśanāham api pṛṣṭham Hastipṛṣṭhātmanaḥ ll 67 ||

divided into sixty-four parts, deduct one part therefrom and then having divided the remainder (sixtythree parts) thereof into eighteen parts, with four parts thereof in each case make the two sides (pārsva) of equal length, and the breadth of the front; then with two parts as the radius, draw a semi-circle, the measure of which will nearly (i.e. roughly) amount to six and one-fourth parts." Samarāngana Sūtradhāra says, 'prsthatastu gajākṛtih." Gajapṛṣṭhākṛti is used also by Aparājitapṛcchā. This shows that for the apsidal shape the elephant was taken as the model. The elephant is carved beside the Nakula-Sahadeva Ratha as if it was meant to serve as a model. Similarly at Dhauli and Karle also, though in a different way.

III. The rest of the superstructures in the Pāpavināśeni Tīrtha are of the stepped variety differentiated on the basis of their crowning member. In all these horizontal tiers alternate with gaps that enter between them. The recesses are deep enough to form dark bands of shade. The tiers are moulded and tiers of one superstructure vary from

^{54.} Ency. Hindu Archi., p. 611.

^{55.} Ibid, p. 463.

^{56.} Mallayya, pp. 68-69.

^{57.} p. 110.

^{58.} p. 461.

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those of another on the basis of the degree of the moulded shape. Some have vertical edges.

- (a) One variety consists of three tiers and the grīvā. The crowning part is waggon-shaped with a gable at either end. The body is moulded at the base, takes a slight bulge in the middle and rises to a ridge. The block of stone on the side suggests that the sides might have been decorated with gables.
- (b) The Second is just like (a), but larger in size. In the Bāla Brahma temple compound at Alampūr there is a similar structure made of brick. Gables are surmounted by kīrtimukhas and in the side gables are human heads. Here the moulding and bulge is absent and it is circular in shape. A plain superstructure of the same shape is at Kollipāka adjascent to the superstructure of the Sōmēśvara temple on the southern side.
- (c) A third variety consists of 7 tiers, $gr\bar{v}\bar{a}$, a ring stone and a kalasa crowning all. The ring stone differs from the āmalaka in that it is not cogged.
- (d) The fourth is a similar structure with a larger ring stone.

 There is still another of this type in this group of temples.
- (e) The main superstructure of the fifth group consists of 8 tiers, grīvā and a ghantakrti top decorated with gables on the sides.
- (f) The crowning member on the others is a four-sided structure with a flattened top. It resembles a hat.
- IV. In the Bāla Brahma temple compound, on the southern side at Alampur, the superstructure of the shrine consists of tiers and recesses alternating as at Pāpanāśeni Tīrtha, but the crowning member is an āmalaka with a final above.
- V. This type of stepped pyramidal superstructures with tiers and recesses alternating are found elsewhere also in Telengana.

The three structures of the Trikūta of the Citāya Sōmēs'vara temple south of the triple-shrine temple at Nagunur belong to the same class. The tiers of the Nagunur temple are decorated with semi-circular stone slabs. The Nagunur temple has also an ante-fix.

- VI. Another variety in the stepped pyramidal type is seen at Kalabgur in the Medak district. The superstructures on the two temples here consist of stone slabs diminishing in size forming a pyramid. No recesses enter between them. The steps are vertical-edged. The superstructure at Gangāpur, on the Kēśavasvāmi temple is of this time, but its shape is conical. The earliest inscription found at this temple belongs to the Western Chālukyan dynasty dated 1091 A. D.
- VII. It is a pity that the superstructures on the Pacchala Someśvara temple at Panagal should have been ruined. But at least an idea of the type to which they belong could be had from the lower stages of the structure on the southern shrine of the three shrines of the western side. This is a stone structure rising in tiers or storeys. But this horizontal theme is combined with a vertical pattern. Corresponding to the pilasters, niches and recesses belong on the walls offsets are formed on the superstructure and these offsets are marked and terminated by stone projections which give shape to the vertical theme. Stone blocks decorated with designs and gables surmounted by kirtimukhas adorn the various stages of the tower. On the whole it has the simplicity of the 11th century Later Chālukyan structures. On this evidence this structure may be assigned to the 11th century.
- VIII. The superstructure of the Rāmes'vara temple at Nandikandi is another interesting example found in Telengana. The vimāna of the temple is star-shaped and is planned on sixteen salient angles. Corresponding to each visible angle of the base is a broad pilaster on the walls of the shrine crowned by capital-shaped mouldings and a turret; vertical

lines are out on these members on the walls. The superstructure is in two storeys and each storey is covered by short shafts crowned by capital-shaped mouldings and turrets of the type mentioned above and arranged corresponding to similar members on the walls. The vertical theme is thus combined with the horizontal. Over these two sections are four stones each with sixteen salient angles worked into large lotuses with petals. Of these the third is the largest. Above these is the kalasa. An ante-fix here is on the east, its gable-end being surmounted by a kīrtimukha and the inner edge of the gable having having lotus buds.

Compared to the Dambal superstructure which is assigned to the 12th century, 59 this is simpler. The charge levelled by Cousens against the former that "we have a new order of things entirely; it is all angles, and the result of these being carried right up the lower is that the latter is chopped up into innumerable little blocks, each with its own mosaic of lights and shadows. This arrangement, though novel, is by no means so pleasing as the square planned towers; it loses vigour and motif, and is weak and almost insipid. The storeyed arrangement has nearly disappeared,"60 cannot be said of the Nandikandi tower. A gift in the reign of Vikramāditya VI is recorded in an inscription found here. On the basis of these points the temple may be assigned to the 11th century A.D.

IX. In the Kākatīya superstructures it is this combination of the horizontal and vertical lines that gains supremacy. The temple outside the village in Pillamarri and the temple on the southern side in the compound within the same village which have superstructures belong to the end of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century as the inscriptions found there show. While the superstructure on the first temple is damaged in the upper portion, the tower on the second temple is mostly damaged. Both belong to the same style.

^{59.} The Struggle for Empire, p. 629.

^{60.} CAKD pp. 114, 115.

The constituent architectural members of the tower on the temple outside the village are as follows: (a) Miniature shrines composed of pilasters surmounted by capital-shaped mouldings and crowned by a miniature tower. (b) A flat central band with two narrower bands carged at lower levels on either side of it. This band which rises over the pilasters of the first Bhūmi or storey extends upto the skandha and grows as it goes up. In the pavilion thus formed by the central band there is a pilaster surmounted by a turret. (c) Each miniature tower has its either edge cut into tiers and joined in the centre by a broad central band running from the base to the top of the tower and diminishing in size as it goes up. These members are arranged on the tower. The upper portion of the superstructure is damaged and the eastern portion of the tower is closed by an ante-fix. The other three sides have a central band surmounting the pilasters of the first bhūmi and on either side are four bhūmis and each bhūmi consisting of two miniature shrines. These miniature shrines progressively diminish in size. The resultant profile of the tower is pyramidal. Whereas the arrangement of the miniature shrines in bhūmis contribute to the horizontal theme, it is the central band and the shape of each turret that lend to the vertical theme of the structure.

The walls of the prāsāda are terminated by the roof which projects beyond the walls and the tower rises over it. This contributes to the horizontal theme; the vertical sections of the tower correspond and crown the pilaster sections of the walls of the garbhagrha. These pilaster sections in their turn correspond to the mouldings of the base. "The Śikhara did not preserve the southern storeyed form but was rather stepped, forming square pyramid with breaks corresponding to the angles in the wall, and with a broad band answering to the larger face in the middle of each exposed side of the shrine." This remark is appropriate in this case.

- X. Belonging to the same type are the superstructures over the shrines at Ghanpur. The members and the arrangement is the same. They consist of three bhūmis. Over them is the skandha. Surmounting the grīvā is a ribbed and flattened circular stone in some cases and a four-sided hat-shaped member with a flattened top in other cases. The ribbed stone is a compromise between the āmalaka of Alampūr and the pointed lotus of Nandi-Kandi. Surmounting is khapuri or skull. The walls of the shrines here are plain. On comparison with the Pillalamarri, Palampet, Warangal and other Kākatīya monuments these temples may be assigned to the 13th century.
 - XI. Northwest of the main temple at Palampet a furlong away is a small shrine with a tower. It is very interesting. It consists of diminishing tiers arranged alternate with recesses to form the pyramidal shape. The tiers are decorated with semi-circular stones. A broad plain tapering central band interrupts this arrangement from the second tier. The crowning member is the four-sided one with a flattened top. The ante-fix is in the front. The shrine faces the north. The semi-circular stone decoration is found in Early Chalukyan examples and also in Orissa. While those lack the central band, this has it. The Kākatīyas should have been responsible for this combination. As this place has Kākatīya temples of the 13th century, this may also be assigned to the same date.
- XII. The main temple at Palampet has a superstructure of the storeyed pyramidal type. It has four bhūmis. Each bhūmi has pilasters surmounted by roofs and forming pavilions. The recesses and the projections of the tower correspond to the offsets and recesses on the walls of the garbhagrha. The tiers of pilasters rising vertically give the structure the vertical theme, while the railings and the bold cornices with horizontal courses give the horizontal theme. The spire is built of light spongy bricks probably to reduce the weight over the building. On the basis of the inscription in the

compound of the main temple this may be assigned to the first quarter of the 13th century.

Besides the examples discussed above, there are several brick structures, looking like modern construction at Kollipāka and Warangal. They also belong to the same categories already mentioned.

From the facts mentioned above it is possible to classify the superstructures extant in Telengana into the following types.

- 1. The curvilinear superstructure: These are found only on the Nava-Brahma temples at Alampur. They are built by the Bādami Chāļukyan dynasty and belong to the 7th century A. D.
- 2. The second is the stepped pyramidal type consisting of only slabs of diminishing size. Found at Kalbagur, Gangapur and over many modern structures in Telengana.
- 3. This is a variety in the stepped pyramidal type. Here tiers and recesses alternate. These are found at Alampur, especially in Pāpavināśeni Tīrtha, Panagal, Kollipāka and Nagunur.
- 4. The storeyed pyramidal type found at Panagal, Kollipāka and Palampet.
- 5. The star-shaped type at Nandi-Kandi.
- 6. The storeyed pyramidal type with a broad central band on the exposed sides found at Palampet, Pillalamarri and Ghanpur.
- 7. The Gajapṛṣṭha type was found in the Pāpavināśeni Tīrtha.

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Districts where the Places in which the Telengana Temples referred to are located.

(1) Karimnagar District: Nagunur

(2) Mahboobnagar District : Alampur

Gangāpūr

Pāpavinās'eni Tīrtha, Alampūr

(3) Medak District : Kalabgur

Nandi-Kandi

Patancheru

(4) Nalgonda District: Kollipāka

Panagal.

Pillalamarri

(5) Warangal District: Ghanpur

Hanamakonda

Pālampet

Warangal Fort.

TYPOLOGICAL AND FUNCTIONAL CHANGES IN THE LOWER PALAEOLITHIC INDUSTRIES OF THE DECCAN

By

Dr. K. D. Banerjee, Nagpur

Wherever a complete section is available, the major rivers of the region show a series of three gravels and three silts deposited in alternate succession. The gravels indicate comparatively wet conditions and represent the latter half of the Pluvials. The silts on the other hand represent the intervening dry or interpluvial conditions. The lowest gravel consists of big pebbles and truly represent the pluvial condition. The second gravel consists of much smallar nodules suggesting that the precipitation during this time was lesser in comparison to the previous one. The third gravel shows still smaller nodules and does not represent a typical pluvial condition.

In the lower gravel alone we find the existence of the lower palaeolithic industries representing different stages of the Chelles-Acheul culture. On the basis of technology, I have classified the Chelles-Acheul culture of the region into three stages. The first stage is characterized by the block-on-block technique. The second stage shows the introduction and extensive use of the cylinder-hammer technique without manifesting the authors' complete mastery over it. The third stage, on the other hand, shows a complete mastery over the cylinder-hammer technique. It will be noticed that the difference between the first stage and the other two is quantitative. Basing the classification, strictly and exclusively, on technology, I have found a rather interesting association of tool-types. They are as follows:

Stage I

Stage II

Stage III

Hand-axe, chopper, scrapers and flakes.

Hand-axe, cleaver, chopper, scraper and flakes. Hand-axe, cleaver, chopper, scraper (including scraper-borer) points and flakes.

From the above list it will be seen that a new tool or a varient heralds a new stage. Thus in the second stage we find the coming of the tool-type, which we call cleaver. This is a completely new tool and compares favourably well with the ushering of a completely new technique. The technical change over from Stage II to Stage III, as mentioned before, is quantitative. Here we are faced with the coming of the significant tool-type-point—which again is a quantitative improvement on a type of hand-axe. Choppers and scrapers are constant factors and flakes are but natural products of all the stages.

In this paper I am deliberately avoiding the question whether Stage II and Stage III evolved from their respective earlier stages locally or whether they exhibit characters of a fresh migration. I also do not wish to discuss whether in the light of my findings the three stages are of simultaneous existence or they occupy three different positions in the time scale. I do not want in the present account to be involved in such a discussion; yet I cannot completely avoid it. The rational probabilities are that:—

- (i) They represent three successive chronological stages.
- (ii) Stage I and Stage II (or at least a part of it) were co-existent and the difference can be attributed to the individual variation of the technical skill.
- (iii) Stages II and III were contemporaneous.
- (iv) All the stages were co-existent.

As I stated before, the technical change between the first two stages is qualitative and is associated with the emergence of a completely independent tool-type—the cleaver. Naturally, therefore, the idea of their co-existence is difficult to uphold. For the same reason, the last alternative cannot stand. My hypothesis, thus, is based on the assumption that in the area Stage II is later in the time-scale than Stage I. The last two stages may or may not be contemporaneous. If it is not, then Stage II is earlier than Stage III.

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When compared, the tool-types of the three stages show that the function which may be served by the chopper and the scraper was present and met up with those tools during the whole phase of the Chelles-Acheul culture. Their technical improvement was suggestive of only functional improvement. Let me clarify the statement. We cannot attribute any exclusive function to any of these two tool-types during a particular stage. If the giant choppers of Stage I were also meant for cutting things which afterwards was done by cleavers, we are left with no proof deductive from the choppers of later (or latter) stages. The same thing, however, cannot be said or the hand-axes. Their change is significant and I will like to deal them a little elaborately. The different parts of a hand-axe are the butt, tip and cutting ends or the lines of profile as it is better known.

The butt end, as the name implies, is the position where the tool is directly held by the manipulator or where it is hafted when hafting is done. In Stage I, the hand-axes show a heavy butt. often retaining the pebbly region where the pebble supplied the 'blank' or the natural corter of a blank showing little or no work. Anyway functionally both are same and we are faced with a thick butt which can be held by the palm but never be halfted to a shaft. Stage II, on the other hand, shows a lighter and thinner butt, often showing a distinct line of the butt. My experiments show that the thinner and lighter butt without an emphatic and sharp line of profile is a better adaptation for normal use while the presence of sharp line of butt is often, if not necessarily, a bad improvement for palmer use. In whatever way it may be held, it hurts the palm to an extent that more than a certain quantity of force cannot be applied in the butt-tip line or in other words, for plunging the tip whether for digging or for piercing the body of an animal. The third stage shows further development in the line of butt and makes it worse for palmer use. Here the thickest part of the specimen is not at the butt, but away from the butt roughly by about one third of its length. I am convinced through my experiments that these specimens were halfted and then used.

Next we come to the tip. This is the most important working part of the tool. This part is intended to come and pierce the soil or the skin of an animal. Naturally therefore, this is the most important region functionally. In fact, Stage I shows that the major attention was confined to this region alone. During this stage the tip is thick and often shapeless and pointed ends are rather less in number. But whether it is shapeless or pointed, the edge around the tip is sharp. This is caused by taking flakes from the direction of the tip. This sharpness, though inevitable as a result of technical process, shows that if it cannot pierce, it can at least cut into the objects against which it strikes. It is not difficult to dig into the silty soil or wet and soft earth by this tool and such is the soil where tuberous roots grow. But, I have got my doubt how far this tool could have been used on the skin of a living animal without first overpowering him and making him incapable of causing harm and sufficient movement. second stage we find the tip region moderately thick and pointed. Thinner ends are invariably rounded. Thus in the tip character Stage II shows the beginning of two distinct specializations in two different directions. One thick and pointed, better suited for piercing the hide and being not broken in the process, the second serving, more or less, as a rounded spade-blade. Stage III on the other hand shows the preponderance of the thin and rounded type often giving a tongue-like appearance. Thicker and pointed type is not infrequent but much less in proportion. If we look back to the list of associate tool-types we will see that the appearance of points has amply compensated the loss.

We may now turn towards the cutting edge or the line of profile. Stage I does not show any definite or standardised line of profile. Actually a distinct line of profile is absent in many cases. Most of the specimens show the cutting edge restricted to the tip region. In other words, its authors either did not consider the cutting edge as important or were not skilled enough to produce it. Possibly both were correct. They neither felt its importance nor were capable of producing it. Stage II shows a well-made distinct line of profile. Stage III shows still better-made cutting edges.

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Thus, on the whole we may reasonably infer that the hand-axe of Stage I was more a digging tool, ideal for holding its thick butt in the palm, but not developed enough for the digging due to the absence of a well-made cutting edge. As a hunting tool, the hand-axe of this stage was not a good one and I doubt whether a hunter armed with this tool ever dashed towards big game. During Stage II we find that the hand-axe shows two distinct lines of development along two functional needs—digging and hunting. Those for hunting show a characteristic improvement with a distinct line of butt, cutting edge and thick pointed tip. In all probability this category of hand-axes was hafted to a shaft and was used as spear-heads. Stage III takes the specialization still further and hand-axes show a trend towards being used as a digging tool with tongue-shaped tip. Points and point-like hand-axes become specialized as hunting tools.

We now come to the tool-type called cleaver. This tool type consists of a 'U' or 'V'-shaped butt end and a straight or oblique cutting edge. Actually this tool resembles an axe very closely and the term coup-de-poing was attributed to the bifaces for this reason. Even McCardy calls the hand-axes of the present usage as cleavers. This tool occurs in the last two stages differentiated by the quantitative difference of the technical process. One thing, however, is significant. The butt end becomes thinner during the last stage where we often find a set of constrictions in the middle of the tool in notch-like concavities in the corresponding positions of the lines of profile. I have hafted them and they behave like normal axes. But such cleavers with constrictions are neither found in large numbers nor are they met with very frequently elsewhere. The question, therefore, may be kept open. I will, however, point out the existence of four specimens both ends of which have been fashioned to cleaver-edges. These tools naturally have no butt and must be held in the middle, which again, if not hafted, carries very little effect.

Choppers are characterized by a heavy pebbly butt and a severated edge. The earliest variety belongs to the classic threestroke type. The function of this chopper can best be deduced from judging the other way round, viz., for what it is most suitable. Leakey, Bordes and many other scientists have found that this tool can serve best to cut soft materials composed of strong tissues or, in one word, muscles. The nature of cutting compares favourably well with that of a type of wire-cutters where the wire is broken by pressing the wire against two alternate projections. The effect is to bend and press these thereby extending a tension on the fibre. All through the stages, the technique of function remained the same.

The scraper, on the other hand, shows certain characteristic changes. It is our experience that scraping the flesh from the hide can be best done by a sharp, straight edge. To remove the flesh from the hide of a big animal, we need a very strong edge and very strong force of manipulation. The amount of force needed to do such work often proved sufficient to break the sharp edge which could not be sufficiently thick for obvious reasons. Therefore the scraper of Stage I is a functional variant of the chopper. A sharp edge needs marginal re-touch to strengthen it. In Stage II we find the beginning of such re-touch and in Stage III all the scrapers show marginal re-touches.

Small sharp-edged tools working in small patches is a better device.
 This principle is however characteristic of the middle palaeolithic and later cultures.

A COIN OF ANGARAJA FROM KAUSAMBI

By

Sri K. D. Bajpai, Sagar

On the basis of a copper coin published in JBORS (Vol. XX pl. II, coin no. 2) Dr. K. P. Jayaswal suggested that the coin was issued by Pus'yamitra Śunga, the first ruler of the Śunga dynasty. Dr. Jayaswal read the legend on the coin as 'Sugarājasa'. Two similar coins were published' by Dr. A. S. Altekar, who read the legend correctly as 'Agarajasa'. Dr. Altekar refuted the theory of Dr. Jayaswal and showed that the coin was issued by a king of Kausāmbī, named Angarāja. There is thus no numismatic evidence to prove that the originator of the Śunga dynasty of Magadha issued any coins.

During my last visit to Kaus'āmbī, another coin of Angarāja was obtained. It is described as follows:—

Round; 6" in diam; wt. 72 grains.

Obv. Tree within railing, Ujjain and taurine symbols. Legend in Śunga Brāhmi characters: Agarajasa (as above).

Rev. Bull walking to left in front of dhvajastambha.

The coin is in a perfect state of preservation. The legend and the symbols on the obverse and the figure of the bull on the reverse are very clearly indicated.

^{1.} JNSI IV, Part ii, p. 137-8; Pl. XII. No. 10-11; Pl. I, No. 17.

THREE INTERESTING COPPER COINS FROM VIDIS'A

By

Sri K. D. Bajpai, Sagar

The three coins described here were acquired by me from a coin-collector of Mathura who had obtained them from Vidis'ā. Coin no. 1 and 3 can be called unique coins. No. 2 is the coin of a King Sakhadeva (?); only one other coin of his is known so far. The coins are described below.

No. 1. AE r.; .4" in diam.; wt. 7.5 grains.

Obv. 'Sivagata'

Rev. Blank.

The name of Śivagata (ie. Śivagupta) as the issuer of coins is not known from any other source. On Palaeographic grounds the coin can be placed in the 2nd century B. C. It appears that the issuer of the coin was some local ruler of Vidiśā.

No. 2. AE r. diam. '55"; wt. 37 grains.

Obv. A trident and straight line in the right-field. Brahmī legend on the edge: Sakhadeva.

Dr. H. V. Trivedi, who published a similar Coin (JNSI XVII, pt. i; p. 53, pl. XV. I) read the legend as makhadata. But on a close examination the legend would appear to be Sakhadava (or -deva). On paleographic grounds the coin should be assigned to the late 2nd century or early 3rd century A. D. and not to the Sunga period.

The name of a King Sakhadeva or Sukhadeva is not known so far. Dr. Trivedi found the coin, published by him, in the coin cabinet of the Archaeological Museum, Gwalior. That coin,

along with several others, was, according to Dr. Trivedi, obtained at Pawaya (Padmāvatī).

- No. 3. AE r.; diam. 55"; wt. 22.5 grains.
- Obv. King (Candragupta II) Standing nimbate to left. Holds arrow in the right hand.
- Rev. Goddess Laksmi nimbate seated on throne, holding noose in her right hand.

This copper coin of the Gupta emperor Candragupta II is interesting indeed. Only one such coin has so far been known, and this came from Rajgir. It is similar to the Archer type of the gold coin of Candragupta II. But on the Rajgir coin Laksmī is shown seated on a lotus, while in the present coin she is seated on a throne.

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A NOTE ON TRIŚŪLA-PURUṢA OR REPRESENTATION OF THE TRIDENT IN HUMAN FORM

By

Dr. N. P. Joshi, Varanasi

It is wellknown to students of Hindu Iconography that the four emblems of Visnu, Sankha, Cakra, Padma and Gada, are sometimes represented in human form and are then known as the āvudha-burusas of Visnu. Though not seen in the Kushāna period, this practice appears to have been pretty common in the Gupta and post-Gupta ages. Among these four ayudha-purusas Gadā is shown in feminine form while the remaining three are depicted as males. Apart from these four no other ayudha-purusa seems to have been noted till now in the field of Hindu art. C. Sivaramamurti has made the following observation in this connection: "In the case of the ayudhas of Visnu, there are personified representations at least in the early sculptures, and even in late mediaevel sculpture in the case of individual representations of Sudarsana cakra there is Cakrapurusa shown against the Cakra (wheel). Similarly in the case of the Śūla of Śiva and Kāli there are anthropomorphic representations placed right on the central prong of the trident. However, as there is usually no personified representations of any weapon of Siva in the early or mediaeval sculpture, Indian Iconography', 7AS Letters, Vol. XXI, 1955 No. 2, p. 95). The present writer has recently come across certain Gupta and mediaeval sculptures, wherein the trident (Trisūla) has also been given the form an ayudha-purusa. It is proposed to describe and discuss this new form in the present note.

In the main hall of the Allahabad Museum there is a rectangular stone piece (Museum No. AC/2984). On the four sides images of Hari-hara, Varāha, Viṣṇu and Vāmana are carved. It is a fairly well preserved piece. On stylistic grounds it can well be ascribed to the Gupta age (c. 6th century A.D.). In the above group the image of Hari-hara (height 21") is specially interesting for our purpose. In this combined form of the two

deities the right side represents Hara and the left Hari. The face is mutilated but portions of jatāmukuta and karandaka-mukuta, are still there to serve as the identification marks. The upper hand of Hari holds Śankha, while his lower hand rests on the head of a male figure standing by his side. The object in the upper hand of Hara is not distinct. Under the palm of his lower hand there is a similar human figure. The figure appearing below the hand of Hari has a wheel or Cakra behind his head showing thereby that the figure is of Cakra-purusa. The male figure in the right side has three prongs of trident on his head; and it may therefore be taken to be a figure of Trisūla-purusa. The conclusion is further supported by the facts that the figure is on the side and under the hand of Hara and moreover, it is quite in juxtaposition with that of Cakra-purusa.

In the Brahmanical Hall of the State Musem, Lucknow, there is an architectural fragment (Museum No. H. 104, provenance-Allahabad) attributed to about 6th century A. D. It shows Siva with begging bowl, and jaṭā-mukuṭa which is decorated with three human skulls. He has his third eye also. The right hand of the deity rests on the shoulder of a small but handsome male figure bearing the trident over his head. Here the aforesaid figure, obviously the Trisūla-puruṣa, coils Śiva's elbow with his left hand. The height of S'iva and his Trisūla-puruṣa is respectively 18" and 10". This is the second instance where instead of the Trisūla, the Trisūla-puruṣa has been shown in association with Śiva.

Another instance of Trisūla-puruṣa in the later mediaeval period comes from a temple in Orissa (K. M. Munshi, Saga of Indian Sculpture, Bombay, 1957, Pl. 55 A). On a panel showing Hari-hara, Siva holds the Trisūla in his upper left hand and mālā in the lower. Below this hand of Siva there is a male figure carrying a trident in his hand. On the side of Viṣnu the upper hand holds the Cakra and the lower the Sankha. His āyudha-puruṣa is also seen near him. This sculpture is important because in this case the emblem of the āyudha-puruṣa, viz. the trident, does not appear over his head but is held in the hand.





Plate I

HARI-

-HARA

(AC/2284, Allahabad Museum)



Plate II

Bhikṣāṭana-mūrti of Siva with Tris'ūla-puruṣa (H. 104, Lucknow Museum)

In the Uttara-Kāmikāgama (G. Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vo. I, Pt. II, Appendix C, pp. 77-78) it has been laid down that the following āyudha-puruṣas could be depicted: thunderbolt (vajra), spear (śakti), staff (danḍa), sword (khaḍga), noose (pāśa), goad (aṅkuśa), club (gadā), trident (trisūla), lotus (padma) and wheel (cakra). Among them śakti and gadā are to be shown as females (jāyā), cakra and padma as eunuchs (napumsaka) and the rest as males (pumāmsah). They are to carry their respective emblems either on their crowns or heads or in their hands. The Pūrva-Kāraṇāgama (Rao, Ibid., p. 79) also gives a similar list. The Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa (Rao, 1bid., p. 78) makes the list further compreshensive by adding the names of the standard (dhvaja), flames (heti), bow (dhanu) and bhindi (bhindipāla?).

Thus it would be clear that the idea of a Trisūla-puruṣa was not a new creation of the sculptor's mind, but had some authority behind it. Similarly the practice of carving the emblem on the head, as is seen in the first two instances discussed above, or showing it in the hand of the figure, as is seen in the Orissa temple, was quite in keeping with the old canons. Excluding the Trisūla-puruṣa and the four āyudha-puruṣas of Viṣṇu, no other āyūdha-puruṣa has hitherto been observed in the field of Indian sculpture.

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X. INDIAN LINGUISTICS

President: DR. A. M. GHATGE

The Language of Samarādityasamkṣepa of Pradyumnasūri
Dr. E. D. Kulkarni

Gujarati Loan-words in Dnyaneshwari
Dr. G. M. Patil

The Nature of Old Malayalam as gleaned from the First chapter of Līlātilakam

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> Gujerati Loan-words in Duyaneshwari Dr. O. M. Padi

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THE LANGUAGE OF SAMARADITYASAMKŞEPA OF PRADYUMNASŪRI

 $B_{\mathfrak{I}}$

Dr. E. D. Kulkarni, Poona

Pradyumnasūri who was an excellent Sanskrit scholar and a specialist in Kāvya, wrote his Samarādityasamkṣepa in Samvat 1324, i.e., 1268 A.D. From the Prasasti, it is clear that Pradyumnasūri belonged to Candragaccha. From 8.50 we learn the names of Pradyumna's parents, viz., Kumārasimha and Lakṣmī.¹ At the beginning of the work the author himself gives also the following details concerning his teachers. He states that he received his general education under Kanakaprabha. Besides him, Naracandra Maladhārin taught him the Uttarādhyana, Vijayasena instructed him in Nyāya, and Padmacandra, the Āvas'yaka.²

Pradyumnasūri appears to have been a critic of great authority, for he is known to have taken up certain works for correction and revision. E.g., Śāntināthacarita which is a translation into Sanskrit of Śrīsāntivṛtta, a work in Prākṛta by Devasūri, was corrected by Pradyumnasūri. Similarly the Śālibhadracarita composed by Dharmakumāra and the Prabhāvakacarita written by Prabhācandra were revised by him. The only two works which can be ascribed to him are the Vicārasāraprakaraṇa in Prākṛta and Samarādityasamkṣepa in Sanskrit. The latter work is, as regards the theme and the contents, only an abstract of Haribhadra's famous Prākṛta work Samaraiccakahā.

- 2. tad vineyam namāmi śrī Kanakaprabhasadgurum | padārtham arthito jñātā yena poto 'py aham pituh || śrīmate Naracandrāya namo'stu Maladhārine | dade me 'nuttarā yenottarādhyayanavācanā || vibhum Vijayasenam tam naumi yena jane 'khile | nyasto vikasvaro nyāyas tadīyakalikā mayi || Kūvadagrāmaviśrāmam Padmacandraprabhum stuve | cāturvidyena me dattā yenāvaśyakavācanā ||

1. 22-25

 Of. navam kartum asaktena mayā mandadhiyādhikam | prākṛtam gadyapadyam tat samskṛtam padyam ucyate ||

1-30

31

But even as a translator of the original Präkṛta into Saṁskṛta and as a poet he is supreme. The language of his epitome is concise and poetic and it exhibits all the subtleties of ornate poetry. It abounds in similes and metaphors, personifications and imageries, and puns and alliterations.

It also contains proverbial stanzas and expressions of universal application like other Jaina texts. These statements not only relate to *Dharma* but also exploit every phase of worldly wisdom. They are a constant element in Jaina narrative both Sanskrit and Prākrit. A collection of such sayings arranged according to various topics, would be a valuable contribution to subhāṣita literature. We give below a few illustrations:

- 1. svapratijnām na muncanti mahārāja tapasvinah 1.165
- 2. naivocitam pumsām mitradoşaprakāsanam 2.199
- 3. samayo'rthasya yauvane/ 4.41
- 4. abjesu śrīnivāsesu krmayo na bhavanti kim 4.163
- 5. kasya vā skhalitam naiti purusasyeha daivatah/ 6.288
- 6. bhavanty aparamārthajñā janā visayalolupāh/ 6.329
- 7. mahatām upakāro hi sadyah phalati nirmitah/ 8.267

The author's poetic fancy is always at work whenever an occasion presents itself to him. This characteristic, especially of his language, is noticed practically in every chapter of the text. E.g.

1. ihaiva jambūdvīpe'sti rasamatyā visesake/
ksetre Varavidehākhye nāmnā jayapuram puram/
suvarņasrībhrtā nityam yena puņyajanāsritā/
svatulyatvadhrtāsamkā vārdhau Lankāpatad dhruvam// 2. 1-2

The simple idea which is conveyed is that Jayapura was a prosperous city and there lived pious and virtuous persons. But introducing a double meaning word, viz. punyajana, he poetically gives a reason why Lankā, which was also prosperous and where also resided punyajana (Rākṣasas), was drowned in the ocean.

- 2. kanyām vasantasenākhyām senām iva manobhuvah
- 4. Cf. M. Bloomfield, The Life and Stories of the Jaina savior Pārśvanātha, p. 208.

LANGUAGE OF SAMARĀDITYASAMKSEPA 243

3. vivarņavadanā muktatamaķķešā vibhāvarī|
paralokasthasurasyāmbu dātum iva yāty asau|| 4.285

Now and then we come across rhyme, alliteration and the repetition of the same syllable to produce a sonorous effect. This is done also by using the same words of two different meanings. e.g:

- 1. kokilah kalayamcakruh kalam kalakalam kila/ 2.27
- 2. jahāra jīvitam jīvitesavaj jīvitesvarī / 4.343
- 3, dharmain bhajata bho bhavyā bhāvato jinabhāsitam/ 7.143
- 4. tadāgamani vanīpālo 'vanīpālāya cākhyata 9.470
- 5. Śrīkāntā nijarūpeņa kāntāya satatānatā/ śrīkāntā nāma tasyāsti kāntā guņagaņānvitā// 2.6
- 6. vibhavarī vibhatatha pūrvadrim aruno'runat/ 9.712
- 7. citrabhānusudhābhānucandabhānuprabhādhikam/ 1.1

Similarly the following expressions may be noticed in this connection:

Sāntasāsvatasātravam 1.63; 2. dharanīdhava 1.187b;
 duḥkhaduḥkhitaḥ 2.369; 4. kalkikalkita 4.2d; 5. rolambarola 4.11c; 6. mahāmohamohita 4.534; 7. jvālitajvalanajvālā 4.625.

The language of the text is rich in new material. We meet with the following types of vocables in it:

- I. Rare words which appear in Vedic texts and epics only.
- II. Words quotable only from grammatical works.
- III. Words which are registered in the Dictionaries, but for which no citation from literature is available according to them.
- IV: Words recorded only in lexicons and which have, therefore, no literary usages recorded in the Dictionaries published so far.
 - V. New words not so far recorded in the published Dictionaries, or having meaning not recorded in them.

VI. Words which are peculiar to Jaina texts.

We mention below a few words, selected at random, which belong to each of the above-mentioned categories.⁵

I. kanī f. 2.30 a girl, maiden. RV.

janī f. 4. 202 a wife. RV.

samanīka n. 7.463 battle, war. RV.

carana n. 7.331 going about. Vedic.

tārkṣya m. 8.96 a horse. Naigh.

dhanamjaya m. 7.580 a fire. Kātha.

puskara n. 5.163 water. SBr.

yugasamya n. 2.263 a yoke together with the pin. ŚBr.

pratyavāya m. 2.458 sin. Apast. Vedānta.

samānodarya m. 5.540 a brother, descended from the same mother. Ait. Br.

nṛpālaya m. 1.118 a palace. R.

varunālaya m. 8.170 the sea, ocean. R.

hrīna mfn. 4.73 ashamed. R.

ākimcanya n. 2.349 utter destitution. Mbh.

dārasamgraha m. 4.542 marrying. Mbh.

parivesaka m. 4.416 a waiter, one who serves meals

bāṇadhi m. 6.21 a quiver. Mbh.

II. adhvanya m. 4.294 a traveller. Pan.

amā ind. 1.219 together. Pāņ.

aṣaḍakṣīṇa mfn. 1. 132 not seen by six eyes, i.e. known by two persons only, secret. Pāṇ.

asakau m. f. 4.513 (for yaḥ and yā). Pāņ.

^{5.} In making this classification the determining factor was whether the word is recorded in Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary. The references to Vedic literature, lexicons and grammatical works etc. are as given in that dictionary.

LANGUAGE OF SAMARADITYASAMKSEPA

asūryampasyā f. 1.230 the wife of a king (who being shut up in the inner apartments never sees the sun). Pāņ.

ubhākarņi ind. 5.372 Pāņ.

kauvada mfn. 4.196. speaking ill. Pān.

kvatya mfn. 5.23 being where. Pan, Pat.

gamin mfn. 4.117 intending to go. Pān., Vārtt, Kāś.

capetā f. 7. 585 a slap with an open hand. Pāņ.

trnyā f. 6.434 a heap of grass. Pān.

dāsera m. 2.253 the son of a female slave. Pān.

padra m. 4.612, a village. Un.

pasyatohara mfn. 5.30 stealing before a person's eyes Pān. Vārtt, Pat.

pānimdhama mfn. 2.20 crowded. Kāś.

bhidelima mfn. 4.212 easily broken, brittle. Pān, Vārtt, Pat.

matallikā f. (ifc.) 1.97 anything excellent of its kind. Gaņar. yatya mfn. 3.14 to be striven or exerted. Pāņ. visasita mfn. 4.420 cut up, dead. Pāņ.

- III. angarāga m. 5.492, scented cosmetic. kakṣāntara n. 7.328 a private apartment. śinjāna mfn. 9.23. tinkling, sounding.
- IV. akṣa m. 4.617 a wheel of a cart.

 anduka m. 7.231 the chain for an elephant's feet.

 abhyavaskanda m. 7.273, an impetuous assault.

 asmagarbha n. 9.464 an emerald.

 āyallaka n. 9. 25 impatience.

 uddhūṣaṇa n. 1.177 erection of the hair.

 upayāma m. 4. 25 a marriage.

 ulloca m. 9.665 canopy.

 elaka m. 4.212 a goat, ram.

 kalka mfn. 5.167 dirty, unclean.

INDIAN LINGUISTICS

kalyāna n. 8.249 gold.

kāncīpada n. 2.124 the hips.

kirātaka m. 6.61 a man of the mountain tribe of the Kirātas.

krtin mfn. 4.131 pious, virtuous.

kolī f. 4.366 the jujube tree.

ksvedā f. 8.25 a roaring of a lion; 5.457 a battle-cry.

gananikā f. 4.354 dancing.

gopa m. 3.253 a king.

cakra n. 8.60 a province.

canga mfn. 8.122 handsome.

jāmeya m. 9.447 a sister's son.

jisnu m. 8.96 N. of Indra.

tantra n. 7.322 paraphernalia.

dava m. 1.270 fire.

dhatī f. 7.326 an assault.

nakharāyudha m. 4.3 a lion.

nabhomani m. 8.67 the sun.

nityagati m. 1.175 wind.

nirvasana n. 9.733 looking at, sight.

nivasana n. 4.170 a dwelling.

panka mn. 6.3 sin.

paraidhita m. 3.270 a servant.

pallisa m. 6.164 the chief of a village.

punyajana m. 2.2 a good or honest man.

pūtigandha mfn. 4.398 foul-smelling.

pragrīva mn. 9.116 a window.

pratikūpa m. 2.249 a moat, ditch.

bukkasa m. 4.132 a Cāndāla.

bhūri mn. 2.286 gold.

maskara m. 7.193 a hollow bamboo cane.

maha m. 4.389 a buffalo.

LANGUAGE OF SAMARADITYASAMKSEPA 247

mahallaka m. 2.445 a eunuch in a king's palace or in a harem.

mahisadhvaja m. 5.438 N. of Yama.

mārjārikā f. 8.412 a civet-cat.

yāpyayāna n. 3.280 a palanquin.

risti m. 4.316 a sword.

lūtā f. 2.435 an ant.

vakravāladhī m. 4.448 a dog.

varnaka m. 5.497 a fragrant ointment.

varnikā f. 4.631 purity of gold.

vāralā f. 5.232 a goose.

vikka m. 9.224 an elephant twenty years old.

viviktatā f. 7.336 discrimination.

vṛṣa m. 3.130 a rat.

vegasara m. 6, 67a a mule.

vraja m. 7.461 a way.

sāla m. 1.97 a tree.

sravas n. 4.305 the ear.

sveta m. 3.58 a silver coin.

saramā f. 8.411 a female dog.

sāmaja m. 7.462 an elephant.

sauvastika m. 1.248 a family priest.

sausthya n. 6.88 welfare.

V. New words not recorded in published Dictionaries:

ajāpāla m. 4.388 a goat-herd.

adavistha mfn. 4.621 near.

adhyāmamānasa mfn. 6.148 one having peace of mind.

anumrti f. 4.334 following in death.

apahastya g. 576 having disposed of.

avanībhuj m. 1.231 a king.

INDIAN LINGUISTICS

asamstuta mfn. 4.112a unfamiliar ākārasamvṛti f. 5.53 concealing or suppressing one's feelings. alekhyasesatva n. 2.280 death. irāpa m. 8.403 a drunkard, uttikā f. 7.518 a roof of a house. utprayana n. 5.523 carelessness. kallolamālin m. 6,214 an ocean. kāncīdāman n. 2.124 a girdle. kālanivedaka m. 8.66 an announcer of time. kālapāthaka m. 8.169 an announcer of time. kitikā f. 7.497 a bolt. kimkula mfn. 5,23 of what family. kumbhaja m. 8.233 N. of Agasyta. kulapāmsana mfn. 4.63 disgracing one's family. kulisadanta m. 8.188 a rat. kosapatra n. 8.151 a basket. kaumudīsitr m. 5.74 the moon. ksanadāyaka mfn. 5.6 giving joy. ksanā f. 1.80 a lightning. kşamākānta m. 2,229 a king. khecarabruva m. 5.437 the vilest of the Khecaras. khetakheta m. 5.402 the vilest of the Vidyadharas. janjumacārika m. 6.443 a green grass. tīmita mfn. 5.157 rendered wet. dārakarmamahorsava m. 2.147 a marriage festival. distavedin m. 5.29 a fortune-teller. dharanīdhava m. 1.187 a king. dharādhava m. 9.344 a king. narārvaņa m. 9.647 the vilest of men.

naresity m. 2,208 a king.

niskuta 9.659 m. a garden grove

LANGUAGE OF SAMARADITYASAMKSEPA

paksasandhi 6.73 m. a full-moon day.

pāpamūlā f. 9.114 a courtezan.

potanāyaka m. 5.151 a ship-owner.

pratighā f. 8.180 anger.

pretanāyaka m. 2.462 N. of Yama.

pherutā f. 9.28 a state or life of a jackal.

bhūjāni m. 8.15 a king.

bhūpabhū m. 8.206 a king's son, prince.

majjanavelā f. 4.59 time for bath.

matsyabandhaka m. 4.373 a fisherman.

madhubhūpapriyā f. 1.230 N. of Rati.

mālākrt m. 4.205 a gardener.

meghamitra 4.29 m. a peacock.

medinībkuja m. 2.359 a king.

rolambarola 4.11 m. humming of the bees.

yakṣapanka m. 9.587 an ointment consisting of camphor, agallochum, musk, sandalwood and kakkola.

yamasadman n. 8.389 abode of Yama.

yamātithi m. 6.111 a guest of Yama.

lekhavāhaka m. 8.324 a letter carrier, the bearer of a letter.

vadhyabhūmikā f. 4.128 a place of public execution.

vanīpāla m. 9.470 a protector of the wood.

vasumatīnātha m. 9. 188 a king.

vastrašodhaka m. 1.262 a washerman.6

vāllabhya n. 9.582 dearness.

vāhakeli m. 530 a game of riding.

vairaniryātanā f. 9.37 a requital of enmity.

vranakriyā f. 7.287 putting a bandage on a wound.

şadaştaka 4. 623 a funeral pile.

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^{6.} Of. bhūmiśodhaka, a sweeper, used in Kāśikā.

^{7.} Of. vairaniryātana n. MW.

sarvamsahāpati m. 6.267 a king. sudhāruci m. 5.15 the moon. sudhāsanapati m. 1.178 N. of Indra. sumotkara m. 5.258 a bunch of flowers. sopānavartman m. 4.358 a staircase.

Words having meaning not recorded in published Dictionaries:—

akuntha mfn. 9.702 wise.

atyāhita 5. 78 death.

arkaja m. 6.133 N. of Yama.

avata 8. 234 a well.

itvara mfn. 3.148 short.

upalambha 3.263 experience.

kambugrīvā f. 9.116 a woman.

kāṣṭhā f. 4.624 a state or condition.

kāsthika m. 9.10 a superintendent of prison.

keśahasta m. 6.503 a braid of a hair.

grāsa 5. 37 wages.

jāngala 4.416 flesh.

dara 3.137 a hole in the ground.

dharana n. 6.309 a prisoner.

niśānta 5.425 a dwelling.

pādaka 3.44 a root.

pratigrāha 7.307 a battle, war.

prarohaka m. 3.45 a tree.

syāmā f. 8.173 a maiden of sixteen years old.

sakarna mfn. 5.27 learned.

VI. agramahişī f. 8.218 the principal queen. adhyakṣam ind. 3.42 in the presence of.

apadhyāna n. 3.33 meditation upon things which are not to be thought of.

LANGUAGE OF SAMARADITYASAMKSEPA

grahila m. 5.61 demon (?)8

Vchut 8.371 to escape.

chuțita mfn. 8.195 escaped.

jholikā f. 3.137 of jholī in Marāthī.

talārakṣa m. 4.183 a body-guard.

trat iti ind. 7. 231 crack!

dakşināsāpālī m. 7.241 N. of Yama.

dosākara m. 4.606 the moon.

nīrangī f. 4,555 a veil.

madhyevārdhi ind. 4.167 in the middle of the sea.

vardhāpikā f. 6.12 a nurse.

snehala mfn. 7.110 full of affection.

The influence of Prākṛta languages, the primary literary vehicle of the Jainas, is at work in the excellent Sanskrit of our author. The Jaina authors were well up in Prākṛta languages. Naturally the Jaina Samskṛta texts never escaped Prākṛta influences. The present text is not an exception to this rule. It has a number of Prākṛta back-formations in Samskṛta which it employs with surprising regularity. We give below a few instances:

√vidhyāi—to go out, be extinguished, with its causative stem √vidhyāpaya to exinguish. This is a back-formation from Prākṛta vijjhāi which itself comes from Samskṛta √vikṣai to burn out. It is used at three places in our text.

vidhyātah 5.196.

vidhyāpysta (passive of causative) 6.436.

vidhyāpana (derived from causative) 6.434.

Similarly yapyayana10 derived from Prakrta jhampana

√uttar to descend, a back-formation from Prākṛta where oyarai and uttarai are interchangeable. We have it used of the following places:

^{8.} Cf. grahila mfn. possessed by a demon. H. Paris.

^{9.} Of. M. Bloomfield: 'Some aspects of Jaina Sanskrit,' Festschrift Jacob Wakernagel.

^{10.} Ibid.

rathāt uttīrya 1.163.

vitāt uttīrya 4.236.

uttara turamgamat 4.45.

uttīrya dvīpāt 7.202.

On the other hand we meet with the following expressions:

divas cyutah avatīrņah 6.9 but also we notice the following usage:

āsanā tavatīrya 4.555

Proper names occasionally show Prākṛta sounds, e.g., Jasāditya and Deiṇī in 7.505.

Duplications like jayajayadhvani 2.27, 5.378; and hāhākārarava 1.314 are of popular origin.

The instrumental imaih for ebhih is frequently used in Jaina Samskrta texts. It occurs in our text at 4.508, 4.619, 6.385, and 8.20.

Besides these peculiarities of Jaina Samskrta the novelties in grammatical forms and usages are not inconsiderable. They include forms not met with so far in literature.

We have the following unquoted Aorist forms. 11 acinti 7.5, apaci 6.42, āpi 4.120, ārpi 7.302. vyajī āpi 2.408.

The periphrastic active participles:

cintayamasivan 5.294.

jñāpayāmāsivān 5.478.

dāpayāmāsivān 4.67.

The suffix ka shows occasionally its diminutive or pejorative function, but in a few other words ka is simply formative in the manner of Prākṛtas. E.g.:

asekau 4.141, 4.513.

takam 2.278.

mayakā 2.185, 4.201, 4.330.

^{11.} Of. M. Bloomfield, The life and stories of the Jaina savior Parsvanatha, pp. 237-29.

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Imperatives in prohibitive expressions with $m\bar{a}$ are not very frequent. Once $m\bar{a}$ is used with Potential and once with Future:

mā gaccha 1.69; viṣīda mā 4.149, mā vidhatta 4.569, mā spṛsa 5.309, mā khidyasva 7.350, mā upekṣasva 9.352, mā bhavatu 6.79, mā syāt 9.706, mā bhaviṣyati 6.122.

Once we have noticed hiatus in pranayaoghatah 1.267.

The text shows a considerable number of denominatives as well as denominal participles. This is one of the characteristics of Jaina Samskṛta.

bahumanayan 1.328, putrīyati 2.378.

vidyullatāyita 5.463, laksmīyate 6.18, dharanāyate 6.18.

Vkasmalaya 8.504, rambhaslambhayamanoruyuga 2.30.

Incidentally we note below other minor traits of the language of the text.

 \sqrt{krudh} used with genetive 5.528.

√krudh used with locative 1.201, 8.356.

Verbs of telling like \squares sains used with genetive 1.148, 7.267.

Verbs of giving like $\sqrt{d\bar{a}}$ used with genetive 2.38.

paritah ind. used with locative 2.25.

We have the form prārthayantam for prārthayamānam 1.141.

Gerunds in am are frequently used; e.g. 2.381, 8.542.

Singularly enough the word $praj\bar{a}$ which is invariably used in plural, is used once in our text in singular, 7.436.

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GUJARATI LOAN-WORDS IN DNYANESHWARI

By

G. M. Patil, Bombay

Linguistic Ontogeny and Phylogeny are the two important aspects of Diochronic Linguistics. The changes in the grammatical system, which forms a part of the phylogeny, include the lexical change which, in its own way, draws the attention of the general reader when he comes across certain lexical items, not current in his own standard language, but are found in the older form of the same language and appear to have been borrowed from a sister dialect. Gujarati and Marathi, two New Indo-Aryan languages, are so contiguous and similar to each other that the cases of dialect-borrowing from the one to the other are quite possible in modern times when contacts between the two language-groups are very close. The present paper aims at a discussion of the types of borrowing which can be traced to an early period when contacts cannot be expected to be so close as now.

Dnyaneshwari is the oldest Marathi metrical composition by the well-known Marathi saint Dnyaneshwar and is the foremost exposition in Marathi on Bhagavad-Gītā. The accepted date of the composition of the work is about the last decade of the thirteenth century A. D. (cf. शके बारा शतें बारोत्तरें। तें टीका केली ज्ञनिश्वरें ॥ ज्ञाने॰ XVIII. 1792). In this work we find a few lexical items, whose source is being attempted to be traced and whose presence in the older literature discussed in this paper. Some of these words which appear to be loan-words are definitely dialectal borrowings, there being a common core for them, in the sense that they have been handed down from a parent language. But in the case of some other words where such a common source is not definitely traceble, the student of linguistics may be forced to conclude the occurrence of language-borrowing. The present study is a preliminary attempt to indicate the possible way of the explanation of the loans in these sister dialects.

In the first instance, we may take the case of the dialectal borrowing from Gujarati into Marathi. There exists a common core, i.e. the parent language, Sanskrit, from which both the languages have been derived in such cases through the Middle Indo-Aryan; but the important fact to be noted is the absence of these lexical items in the current standard Marathi. The words noted below find a place in the text of Dnyāneshwari, but they seem to have become obsolete in later Marathi and are out of use in the colloquial or literary form of the language though used in the Gujarati language. They can be claimed as Marathi words only on the ground that they have been included in the standard Marathi lexical works. A few instances are given below:

(A)	Marathi	Gujarati	Sanskrit	Meaning
1.	आपजे	आपजे √आपचुं	√आप्	to obtain, get
2.	आरोगिली	√आरोगवुं (to eat, to take food)	आरोग्य	good health
3.	उपणितां	√उपणचुं (to cleanse with a winnowing basket)	√उत्पू	to cleanse, to purify
4.	पालवें (cf. पालवी)	पालव (sprout, end of the garment)	पलव	leaf, sprout
5.	खा जें	ন্ধানা (a sweet preparation)	खाद्य	eatable

References are to Dayaneshwari, Nirnayasagar Edn., 1930.

⁽A) 1—II. 139, XIII, 831.

²⁻IX, 230, 386; XI. 427; XIII, 423.

³⁻II. 130; IX. 333; XVIII. 614.

⁴⁻VIII. 16; XV. 157.

⁵⁻VI. 29.

GUJARATI LOAN-WORDS IN DNYANESHWARI 257

6.	बिह्या	√बिह्यु ्	√भी	to be afraid
7.	भीतरी	भितर	अभ्यन्तर	interior
8.	भाणें	त्रुक सम्बद्धाः स्थापुर्वे अस्ति । स्व	ा भाजन	a plate with lunch
9.	मेलें	मेले (of own accord, together with)	√िमऌ	to meet with,
10.	मोकिलिले	√मोकलवुं (to send, dispatch)	√ मुच्	to release, to
11.	वाल्ही (वालि)	हाली, वाहली,	वलभ	dear, favourite
12.	शाक	হাক	शाक	vegetable
13.	सोहलिया	√ सुवुं	√स्वप्.	to sleep
14.	हाट	EIZ A' 'A LOS	ĘĘ	a market, a fair
15.	फावलें	√फाववुं	√प्राप्	to get, obtain

⁶⁻IX. 140; XII. 88; XIII. 505.

⁷⁻VI. 217; VII. 134; VIII. 184; XVIII. 678.

⁸⁻VIII. 143; XVIII. 150, 785.

⁹⁻XIII. 84, 465, 479, 769, 1033.

¹⁰⁻XI. 63; VI. 381; XIII. 805; XVIII. 1051.

¹¹⁻III.247; XV. 94.

¹²⁻VI. 282; XVI. 22, 23.

¹³⁻XIII. 575.

¹⁴⁻IX. 496; XVIII. 797.

¹⁵⁻VI. 4, 8, 23, 99, 189; IX. 49; XI. 96.

³³

The second variety of borrowing can be indicated in the instances where the common core for the words is traceble in both the languages with a semantic identity, but the present form of the words has been phonetically changed in modern Marathi, the form from Dnyaneshwari agreeing more with the present Gujarati form. Five such words have been traced so far.

(B)	Marathi.	Gujarati.	Sanskrit.	Mod. MAR.
1.	चांचू	चांच (beak)	चब्चु	चोंच
2.	डाळी	ਫਲ (branch)	दल	डहा ळी
3.500	(b	पहुंचा eaten separated	पृथुक	पोहा
	1111	rice)		
4.	पांजरा	पांजरा (cage)	पञ्जर	पिंजर
5.	वण	फिण (foam)	फेन	फेंस

The third type is that of language-borrowing, where the words do not seem to have a common core, but are current in Guj. and though not in use now in Marathi are found in Dnyaneshwari. It is perhaps, difficult to explain this situation, as the two essential motives for language-borrowing, viz. (i) the prestige, either political or otherwise, and (ii) the need for them appear to be absent in such cases. The words noted below are not common in standard Marathi.

⁽B) 1—68; IX. 234; XIII. 326; 401; XIV. 208; XI. 109. 2-XV. 265.

³⁻IX. 394.

⁴⁻VI. 233; VII. 154; XIII. 412, 599.

⁵⁻IX. 66, 67, 154.

GUJARATI LOAN-WORDS IN DNYANESHWARI 259

(C)	Marathi.	Gujarati.	Meaning.
1.	ओगरिली	√गरंबुं ओगरंबुं	to serve the food
		n. ओगराको	ladle
2.	घारी	घारी	a sweet preparation
3.	पाडा का अंक	पाडो कार्य कार्यक	a buffalo, a calf
4.	फरसळ	फरसाण	a mixture of different
		existing on a	tastes
5.	बोहणी	बोह्णी कि	the first sale of the
	Long of February	d about the state	day
6.	भातुकें (र्जः भातुकली)	भाथुं विश्व	a breakfast, eatables
	C D C COLOR DE LA		given to children, etc.
7.	रससोय	रसोई	cooked food
8.	लाणी	लाणी	presents distributed at
a bad v	unit e or aunumber	erie tribiti	the end of festivals,
s.?	etali people. Luca		celebrations, etc.;
9.	-वडे (माजिवडे)	बड़े	by, with, etc.
10.	संघर	सधर	strong, firm, rich, etc.

The presence of few more words like Dकुहा, पोखणें, वारी, वलंघोनिया etc. also indicates the influence which Guj. weilded on Mar.

5-XVIII. 784. 6-III. 248; VI. 352; X.11.

7—II. 242; IV. 161; VIII. 100; IX. 470; XVIII. 475, 1454.

8—II. 254; IX. 9; 348, XIII. 390, 637, 644; XV. 38; XVIII. 1092.

9-XIII. 326; along with माजि VI. 343; XI. 163, 403; XII. 42; XIII. 896; XVIII. 961.

10-I. 80; II. 276.

कुहा XII. 549; 678. (D) पोखर्णे I. 90; II. 306; V; 2; XIII, 147; XVI. 66; XVIII. 808. वारी XIII. 655. वर्लघोनिया XIII. 714.

⁽C) 1-1V. 107; IX. 9. 393. 2-XVII. 159. 3-VIII. 8; XI. 109. 4—XVIII. 245.

in the times of Dnyaneshwar. The intimate borrowing is mostly a mutual concern and then the flow is both ways. Both the languages seem to donate and both appear to borrow. Instances of such type can be multiplied from both languages. For instance, Gui. has been the donor of words like लुगडें, कोथला, प्रांघरूण, कपडा and others to Mar. while Mar. claims to be a creditor in lending words like अंघोळ, बखेडो, थुंडुंगार, रंगोली, छेवट and many others to Guj. These words of daily use can be imagined to have been the result of the close contacts and the motive of need to a certain extent. But how could this have been possible at a period about seven hundred years back, is a problem to be explained. Could it be that Cakradhara, the founder of the Mahanubhava sect in Mahārāshtra and a Sāmavedi Brāhmana from Sourāshtra, was accompanied by his followers when he immigrated to the South: and together with the spread of the sect and the religious teaching, these Gujarati-speaking teachers gave currency to a few words which soon became assimilated among certain people. Later, the words referred to above and some others became common with the majority of Mar. speakers. In course of time, these loan-words seem to have become obsolete as they could not hold ground even as the sect in this rocky land of Mahārāshtra. The date of Cakradhara and of the Mahānubhāva literature is accepted to be about the last quarter of the twelfth century A. D., i.e. about a century before Dnyaneshwar.

It can also he said with some confidence that a number of Gujarati words were already current in the Marathi language even prior to the date of *Dnyāneshwari*. The evidence is furnished by Rājamatiprabodha by Yas'as'candra, a work of the second half of the eleventh century. In the Marathi speech of a Mahārāshtrika who describes feminine beauty, the following words are found which have more of a Guj. form rather than the Marathi : घर, छोरी, मोरी, उंडी etc. (cf. Marathi Bhāshā: Udgama āni Vikāsa, K. P. Kulkarni; Ed. 1957, pp. 164.)

The foregoing discussion indicates that the Marathi language of the period of the Yādavas was influenced by, at least it had come in close contact with, Gujarati also, along with Kanarese and Telugu, two of the Dravidian languages of the South.

THE NATURE OF OLD MALĀYAĻAM AS GLEANED FROM THE FIRST CHAPTER OF LĪLĀTILAKAM

By

A. Chandra Sekhar, M.S., Ph.D., Delhi

The object of the first chapter of Līlātilakam, the fourteenth century Malayālam grammar written in Sanskrit, is to define the literary style called manipravālam and to establish its importance in contemporary Malāyalam compositions. In doing so, the author of the grammar states many a fact about the nature of the language of Kērala as it was in the fourteenth century of the Christian era and about the South Dravidian languages in general. These observations are of inestimable importance to the history of Malayālam.

The question whether the author of the sūtras of Līlātilakam has himself written the commentary to the sūtras is still an open one. But, for the purpose of this paper this question is of no importance. Even if the author of the sūtras did not write the commentary it is certain that the commentary was written within a few years of the composing of the sūtras. We are concerned here with the views expressed in the commentary.

In commenting on the opening sātra bhāṣā-samskṛtayogam-maṇipravālam, the commentary observes: bhāṣā cātra kēralabhāṣā. yathā—'bhāṣāmiśram polutu kathayāmī-tyādau''. The term bhāṣāmiśram used here is interpreted by the protagonists of the theory that Malayālam branched off from Proto-Dravidian in pre-historic times and is not an offspring of Tamil as meaning a mixture of Malayālam and Tamil, and they argue that all the samples of Old Malayālam that have so far been discovered are examples of bhāṣāmiśram or dialect-mixture since they contain many obvious Tamil forms and contructions. But it is clear from the context that no such description of the nature of Old Malayālam is intended here; as Prof. Ilamkulam Kunjan Pillai points out, this term refers explicitly to the mixture of Sanskrit

words with the dialect of the West Coast. It may also be pointed out here that later on in the silpa, the grammar states that it is absurd to assume that $K\bar{e}ralabh\bar{a}s\bar{a}$ contains forms from the language of the Cola-Pāṇḍya area or any other language.

Prose writing was as much in vogue during the time of Līlātilakam as poetry. This is clear from the following passage: vadi khalu rasikajanam abhimukhīkrtyābhisandhātum gadyarūpena padyarūpenobhayarūpena vā cature padasandarbhe prastute tanmadhyenanya-padam "candanam konta" ity ucyate etc. We have so far discovered only a few samples of Old Malayalam prose like Kautaliyam Bhasa, Dūtavakyam and Devimahatmyam Bhasa. A diligent search of the manuscripts libraries in old family homes will certainly bring to light a considerable prose literature. Malayalam prose writing developed obviously quite early in the history of the language. But its style, which was simple and straightforward to begin with as seen in Kautalīyam Bhāsā etc., became involved and corrupt by the time of Līlātilakam, when hybrid sentences like ākil ākarnyatām and kiñcit pulinkurum arppayati had become the fashion of the day. Since Līlātilakam cites such sentences as examples of manipravalam, we may conclude that manipravalam style was not intended for the masses but could only be understood and appreciated by the Sanskrit educated Malayālis.

The combination of Sanskrit words with Sanskrit grammatical terminations with native words constituted manipravālam according to Līlātilakam. When Sanskrit words without Sanskrit grammatical terminations were combined with native words, the style was called Tamil. For, according to the author of Līlātilakam, Sanskrit words with vernacular grammatical terminations had to be considered as vernacular forms and not Sanskrit. Thus the language of the thirteenth century translation of Devīmāhātmyam, which is one of the best specimens of Old Malayālam prose so far discovered, is stylistically Tamil and not manipravālam. We may also note here that the language of Kērala was called Tamil during the time of Līlātilakam, a fact which is admitted by Līlātilakam itself.

NATURE OF OLD MALAYALAM

But Līlātilakam makes it clear that in contexts like: tamil samskrtam entulla sumanassukal kontoru intamāla totukkinten pundarīkāksapūjayā the term Tamil denotes the language of Kēraļa and not Coladibhasa. "keralanam dramida-sabdavacyatvad apabhramsena tadhāsā tamil ucyale" ('since the people of Kēraļa are referred to as Dravidian, their language is called Tamil by way of apabhramsa'). The etymology of the term Tamil as given by Līlātilakam and its use as defined by the grammar are interesting: "Cola-kerala-pandyesu dramidasabdasya va prasiddhya pravrttih. Karnātāmdhrā api dramidā iti kecit. tanna. tesām Dramidavedavilaksana-bhasavatvat dramida-sanghata-pathabhavac ca." ('It is well known that Colas, Keralas and Pandyas are known as Dravidians. Some say that Karnāṭakas and Andhras also are Dravidian. But that opinion is not acceptable in view of the fact that they have a language which differs from the language of the Dramidaveda and because their languages contain more speech-sounds than Dramidasamghātāksara.) Two points are noteworthy here. First, it was believed during the time of Līlātilakam that the term Tamil was a modification (apabhramsa) of the Sanskrit term Dramida. Secondly, there was a controversy regarding the classification of Karanātakas and Andhras as Dravidians. The author of Līlātilakam held the view that Karņātakas and Andhras were not Dravidians. His reason was that their languages had a different varnamālā from that of Tamil (including the language of Kēraļa).

The varṇamālā of Tamil is called dramidasanghātam and it is stated that dramidasanghātam does not possess the three letters in the middle of each varga, the ūṣmās, the vowels r and l and visarga and that it has a long and a short variety of e and o except in word finals! ('dramida-sanghāto dramida-mātṛkā. vargamadhya-trayoṣmabhiḥ, r-l-varṇa-visarjjanīyaiś ca rahitā, dīrghēṇeva hrasva-bhūtenāpyēkāreṇa ōkāreṇa ca nāntoccārēṇa ca sahitā'). It is clear from this that old Malayāļam and Tamil had practically the same phonemic system. Also it is clear that in Kannada and Telugu the atikhara, mṛdu, ghoṣa and ūṣmā speech-sounds had become firmly established long before the fourteenth century of the Christian era. It may also be noted here that as Līlātilakam specifically states that h did not exist in the dramidasanghāta

speech-sounds, the speech-sound aytam in Tamil could not have been pronounced as a glottal fricative or a fully voiced glottal sound as Tamil scholars generally assume.

The author of Līlātilakam has expressed the opinion that Kannada and Telugu are not Dravidian languages on what he calls linguistic grounds. But since he hints at the fact that there were others who held the view that these were Dravidian, we can reasonably conclude that there were scholars in the fourteenth century who had a correct understanding of the origin and development of Kannada and Telugu from the common Dravidian stock.

There is a very lengthy discussion on loan-words in the first silpa of Līlātilakam. The author of this grammar takes the curious position that it is wrong to say that there are loan-words in the Kēralabhāsā. In his opinion it is nonsense to talk of loanwords in any language. There may be some words in a language which are similar to the words in some other language or languages. But this is only to be taken as being on a par with resemblances among human beings: kecit kaiscit bhāṣāntare-ssampadyante purusā iva. tesu punas tadbuddhir na kāryā. kintu tadsadrsabuddhir eva yuktā. anyathā gosadrse gavaye devadatte vā sākṣāt gobuddhau tatkāryam vāhadohādikam api kriyeta. He cites the word kūntal as an example. Although this word is used in Colabhāṣā as well, so far as Malayāļam is concerned it is only like Colabhasa kūntal and not a loan-word from Colabhasa. He then poses the question as to how they came into Kēraļabhāṣā; could they not have come from Kannada or Telugu or some other language as well; of kiñca evam sādrsyād bhavatu kadācit sandehah katham colabhāsaivāsāviti nirnayah kriyeta. atha kēralānām sāmānyavyavahāre darsanād iti cet, katham colabhaseti niscayah syāt. kim karnāta-bhasā na bhaved andhradibhaṣa va? He concludes his argument by categorically stating that it is foolish to say that there is any other language (that is, vocabulary) in manipravalam other than Kēralabhasā: manipravāle keralabhāsāvyatirekenānyā kācit bhāsāstīti

A casual remark in the course of the discussion on loan-words informs us that Tamil alone among the South Indian language

had dictionaries. Kannada and Telugu words, says the commentary, are not recognized as such because they cannot be verified from dictionaries; they are known only from traditional usage: na khalu karnāṭabhāṣā tatrābhidhānādigranthena nirnīyate. āndhrādi bhāṣā vā. api tarhi vyavahāra-paramparayaiva jñāyate.

The common people of Kerala, even in the fourteenth century of the Christian era, did not consider the language of Kerala as being different from the language of the Cola-Pandya area. This is to be inferred from the following argument in Līlātilakam: nanu ' tamilunāttu mūventarum vantār' iti vacanāt keralā api tamilāh syuh. tatas colakeralabhasayor na bhedah, hanta tarhi colabhasa casti manipravāla iti vacanam asamgatam. colabhāsaivāstīti vaktavyam; keralabhāsaiveti vā. dramidatvena keralā api tamilā ity asmābhir evāsthitam, tathāpi bhāsāsu bhedo 'sty eva. kāścit punastattulyam ity aikyabhramam mugdhānām. ("Since we come across expressions like 'tamilunāttu mūvēntarum vantār' we see that the perople of Kērala also are Tamils. So there is no difference between the languages of Kēraļa and Cōļa; so argue some. But it is improper to say that there is Colabhasa in manipravalam. We should say that it contains only Colabhāṣā or only Kēralabhāṣā. We ourselves have admitted that, being Dravidians, Kēraļīyas are also Tamils. But there is certainly difference in the languages of Keraļīyas and Cola-Pandyas. It is foolish to think that since certain languages have similarities, they have no differences.")

In discussing the speech-forms current in manipravalam, Līlātilakam says that forms like vantār, iruntār, tēnkā, mānkā, yān, atanai, itanai, yānai, kutirai, uṭaivāl, iṭaiyar, peyar, itaṭu, uṇṭanar, uṇpar, varuvar, koṇmar, kūyirṛu, tāyirṛu, a:tu, i:tu, anankan, māṭattinkan, ālinatu are not used in the manipravālam style but instead only forms like vannān, irunnān, tēnha, mānha, hān, atine, itine, āna, kutira, uṭavāl, iṭayan, pēr, ital, unṭār, uṇmār, varuvār, kolvar, kūvi, tāvi, atu, itu, anangan, māṭattil, and alinṭe are met with. This information is invaluable for students of the history of Malayālam. We know from these examples that important phonological processes like the nasal assimilation and the reduction

of medial and final ai to a had become complete by the time of Līlātilakam and that personal terminations for verbs were still in vogue in the fourteenth century.

The author of Līlātilakam was anything but a linguistic scholar. He gives a lot of information about the phonology and morphology of Old Malayāļam in the course of his dicussions on the nature of the language of Kēraļa. But all this is incidental, and his paramount aim in the work which goes by the name Līlātilakam is to establish the individuality of the speech of Kēraļa and to extol the beauty of the manipravālam style:

XI. DRAVIDIC STUDIES

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Prof. T. P. Meenakshi Sundaran

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THE PULUTA IN TAMIL

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Prof. T. P. Meenakshi Sundaran, Annamalai University

The Dravidian languages differentiate between short vowels and long vowels. The length is phonemic and must be assumed to be so in the Proto-Dravidian as well.

Sanskrit however further differentiates between the long vowel and the extra long vowel called pluta. The short vowel has one unit of length, the long has got two units, the pluta three units. But even there, pluta is not phonemic, as it occurs only as an allophone of the short or long vowel wherever the metrical exigencies required much extra lengthening of the short or long vowel. In the vocative case, especially when addressing one who is far away, the pluta occurs as a kind of onomotopoea. (Pirayoka Vivekam, § 5).

In Tamil also the earliest grammar Tolkāppiyam recognised that in music, in sale of articles in the streets by crying aloud and in certain cries raised in joy on the fields etc., the length of sounds might be increased without reference to their quantities fixed in the grammar. These are all considered to be natural plutas which might occur in all the languages of the world in similar situations. But they can never became phonemes.

Possibly because of his knowledge of plutas in Sanskrit Tolkāppiyar states specifically that there is no vowel in Tamil which has three units of length. But he adds that there may arise cases where a long vowel in combination with a short vowel, may fill up any metrical lacuna. That will suggest that Tolkāppiyar is speaking of diphthongs (really a cluster of two vowels) rather than the pluta of Sanskrit. But in course of time, at least by the tenth century, A.D., Tolkāppiyar's diphthongs came to be pronounced as monothongs of three units of length, as is made clear by works like Kārikai of the 10th century.

The diphthongs consisting of the long and short vowel of the same quality played an important part in the sandhi rules of

Tolkāppiyar's times. It has to be stated that the later-day rules about the glides coming in between two vowels was not compulsory in the age of Tolkāppiyar. Therefore vowel-clusters occurred in his age. The Tolkāppiyam lays down the coming in of a short vowel after a long vowel in the following sūtras: 213, 223, 226, 228, 229, 230, 231, 258, 261, 267, 272, 273, 277, 284, 292, 294, 295 and 311.

In the above cases, though Tolkāppiyar does not specifically say so, one has to infer that whenever a short vowel occurs as a final sound in a word and when it is followed by another short vowel of the same quality, the first vowel is lengthened. Sūtra 261 is important from this point of view. There are also cases where a long vowel requires a short vowel after it to strengthen it. This tendency is found to persist lin the later-day inscriptions especially with reference to the long $\bar{\imath}$ and long $\bar{\imath}$; the word $t\bar{\imath}$ is found written as $t\bar{\imath}i$ while the \imath is the alternate for the old final i. Tolkāppiyam uses the following forms in his sūtras: varum [varu + um] (§ 30 etc.); elūtal [elu + u + tal] (§ 6); patātu [patu + a + tu]. patu is the root; a = i is the negative particle; atu is the particle of vinaieccam; $mik\bar{a}$ [miku + a + a] (§ 263). miku is the root: a is the negative particle; the final a is the plural suffix.

a+i becomes ai according to $Tolk\bar{a}ppiyam$ (§ 54). i is the particle sometimes showing past tense, sometimes showing the causal nature of the root and sometimes remaining as a nominal derivative; e.g. pirai, a newborn crescent moon:

nilaiiya is another form used in Tolkāppiyam. Probably the root is nila, with an enunciative a; and i added is the sign of the past tense (see nilavi) which emphasises the separate existence of itself; a is the particle of peyareccam. The first vowel gets elongated by developing at its end a vowel of the same quality as that of the following vowel; in this way it becomes the diphthong ai.

In marīiya (§ 250) the old root is probably mari which alternated with maru; i is a sign of the past tense (cf. maruvi) and

the final a is the particle of peyareccam. The first i gets elongated when followed by another i.

 $mik\bar{u}m$ (§ 609) = miku + um; miku is the root and um the particle of peyareccam. In talu = lu is the root and u is what occurs as a nominal derivative which in later age was expressed as pu or vu. (cf. taluvu).

In all these cases of vowel-cluster, the first vowel gets elongated according to the quality of the second vowel. Even today though no *pluta* is found, the tendency for the last vowel to lengthen at the end of the word is present in colloquial Tamil; e.g., muttaiyā-p-pillai etc., though there is no vowel following.

When at a later age the vowel-clusters ceased to be used, the basis of this vowel-cluster itself was forgotten and scholars began to think in terms of the Sanskrit pluta because of their intimate contact with Sanskrit. nilaiiya etc. were thus looked upon as verbs derived from nouns nilai etc., by mere pluta formation. The pluta accordingly converts a noun into a verb. nacaii is another example. Plutas were thus considered to play an important part in later grammars. nilai and nilaii were contrasted and the pluta aii, for instance, was made phonemic, as contrasted with ai.

The later age began, therefore, to explain forms like enpatūum not as enpatu + um where the last sound u of the first word became lengthened into \bar{u} before a particle um beginning with an u, but as a case of the pluta of the original short vowel u in enpatu. The failure to recognise the suffix um as standing apart, is because the vowel clusters ceased to exist in that age, except in these old persistant usages.

 $Kur\bar{\imath}i$ [small bird] is found now as Kuruvi. [kuru < kuri.i is the nominal derivative; kuru+i=kuruvi, with the glide v]. Failing to note this, the later age explained $Kur\bar{\imath}i$ as merely an elongation Kuri.

Therefore the later-day grammarians (Ilakkana-k-kottu § 90) speak of: [1] natural pluta, i.e. those which occur in vocative case etc., [2] artificial pluta, i.e. those which occur as a metrical require-

ment, [3] pluta consisting in the coming in of a single letter like u according to the sutras already quoted from $Tolk\bar{u}ppiyam$ and [4] pluta of music. These also speak of (1) the pluta of the short vowel as in enpatūum where they take the short vowel u as the original becoming a pluta, i.e. \bar{u} , not because of any metrical exigency, but for the purpose of producing sweet sounds, (2) innicai alapețai and [2] the pluta of the long vowel. When the influence of Sanskrit pluta became pronounced, Subrahmanya Dīkṣitar in his Prayokavivekam went to the extent of explaining the Tamil usage itself on the basis of Sanskrit grammar, even going to the extent of explaining $Tolk\bar{u}ppiyam$ itself as a slavish imitation of Sanskrit rules.

For instance Tolkāppiyar's reference to words ending in lu, getting another u at their ends, when the original short u becomes lengthened into \bar{u} [§ Tol. 261], is according to Subrahmanya Dikshitar' simply to show that Tamil also follows the Sanskrit rule of making a short vowel into a pluta. But it must be said to his credit $[PV \S 25]$, that he was one of those few who realised that in all these cases pluta, especially in $pan\bar{u}attu$, $at\bar{u}antu$, and $mar\bar{u}at$, one has $praktibh\bar{u}va$ or the absence of the operation of the rule laying down the coming in of the glide between two vowels, so much so, the second words appear as they are, without any change. If this statement is generalised so as to apply to all cases, one sees $praktibh\bar{u}va$ even in internal sandhi and it will then agree with the explanation here given.

Amongst the Dravidian languages it is only in Tamil that what may be termed pluta plays an important part. Though the term pluta is mentioned in Telugu and Kannada grammars, it was never of general occurrence there. Even in Tamil it has ceased to exist and one may fix the relative age of the groups literary works amongt other things on the frequency of the pluta in Tamil.

^{1.} Subrahmanya Dikşitar belonged to the closing years of the 17th and the beginning years of the 18th century. He wrote a grammar called *Pirayoka Vivekam* to show that the grammars for Tamil and Sanskrit are the same.

Pluta was called uyir [vowel] alapstai [elongation] in Tamil. It has relationship with music and that will explain how voiced frictionless continuants also have more duration than what is prescribed in grammars and found in ordinary usage. In view of this, the pluta is not restricted to 3 units of length. It is pointed out by commentators on books on Tamil grammar that pluta can have more than 3 units of length and they also give examples: $c\bar{s}r\bar{a}aay$ [4 units], $n\bar{u}r\bar{o} > 000$ [6 units], $upp\bar{o} oooo$ [6 units]. [cf. Pirayoka vivekam § 5].

They state that in music pluta can go upto 12 units of length.

There are certain words which in their natural form appear with pluta even now, e.g., āṭūu, makaṭūu. Tolkāppiyar speaks of a natural word which ends in i which however is the ending of a pluta; ef. tolīii [§ 609. This occurs also in Kali.]. These have to be explained after understanding the grammatical significance of the lengthening of a vowel. Perhaps this lengthening has the force of past tense, e.g., ceyā, ceyyu [Tol. § 712]. In elūu [Tol § 6] the final short u has the force of a causal suffix. All these require deeper study.

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SOME FAMILY NAMES IN TULUVA

By

Prof. M. M. Bhat, Madras

Tulu is an ancient member of the Dravidian group of languages spoken in the region usually called Tulu Nādu lying on the west coast of India in the District of South Kanara, now included in the Mysore State. According to the Census Report of 1951 the Tuluva population is 6,98,532.

Just as Kannada and other important Dravidian languages are the mother tongues of people belonging to different castes and social strata, Tulu too happens to be the mother tongue of people belonging to different sections of society. With its multifarious dialectical differences accentuated by social and regional boundaries, Tulu can become a fruitful field of research for students of linguistics and anthropology.

In the present context, an attempt is made to note down some of the important family names (especially among the Brahmins of Tuluva) and examine their import. It is extremely difficult to find out the why of all the family names. However it is possible to analyse most of them and read a lexical meaning into them which analysis might throw some light on problems of anthropology. There are other names which evidently indicate the position once held by the ancestors of those families.

Many families have got their names from their house names. The word for house in Tulu is 'il'. There are several houses bearing names such as 'Kukkila' (Kuk=mango, ila=house), 'Kangila' (Kangu=areca, ila), 'Naddila' (Nadu=middle, ila), 'Kedila' (Kedu=tank, ila). In these compounds the latter part is always the word 'il' and the former part signifies the name of a tree, place, direction etc. These habitation names have allowed themselves to be employed as family names with the addition of another word 'āya' or 'āye' meaning 'he'; 'āya' or 'āye' in Tulu is the third person, masculine, singular pronoun. Thus we have family names such as Kukkillāya (Kuk+il+āya=he of the

mango house), Naddillaya (nadu+il+aya=he of the middle house), Kedilaya (Kedu+il+aya=he of the tank house).

Most of these category of names are evidently derived from the names of trees found in the Tulu territory. In the case of some, the intervening word 'il' is not there. Saralaya (sarala+aya, he of the sarali tree); Sampigettaya (Sampige or Sampage + ta + aya, he of the campaka tree); Ungrulitāya (ungrupuļi + ta + āya = he of the 'ungrupuli', a tree of citrus variety); Pejattāya (peja + ta + aya = he of the peja tree); Madeppulittaya (madeppuli + ta + āya = he of the madeppuli, a tree of citrus variety?); Talittāya (tāļi + ta + āya = he of the cocoanut tree), Īciltāya (īcil + ta + āya = he of the 'īcil' palm tree); Bannintāya (Banni + ta + aya = he of the Banni tree); Kornginnaya (Korng + in + aya = he of the 'Korng', a medicinal plant, tree); Kadambalittāya (Kadambali + ta + āya = he of the Kadamba (li) tree); Pālettāya (pāle + ta + āya = he of the 'pāle', a soft milk plant, tree); Kanginnaya (Kangu + in+aya = he of the arecanut tree house); Bāgiltāya (bāge + il + ta + āya = he of the 'bage' tree house); eleciltaya (elecil + ta + aya = he of the elecil tree house).

Certain names have for their beginnings names of familiar vegetables; e.g., Manōlittāya (manōli + ta + āya = he of the 'manōli', a kind of vegetable); Kuddannāya (Kudane + na + āya = he of the 'Kudane' vegetable).

Yet other family names are associated with place names: Puttūrāya (Puttūr + āya = he of Puttūr); Kallūrāya (Kallūr + āya = he of Kallūr); Koļattāya (Koļa + ta + āya = he of the pond); Kubaņūr + āya = he of Kubaņūr); Irnūrāya (Irnūr + āya = he of Irnūr); Munnūrāya (Munnūr + āya = he of Munnūr); Baipādittāya (Baipādi + ta + āya = he of a place called Baipādi; many place names have their endings with 'pādi' in Tulu); Tolpādittāya (Tolpādi + ta + āya = he of Tolpādi); Modappādittāya (Modappādi + ta + āya = he of Modappādi); Nūrittāya (Nūri + ta + āya = he of Nūri); Irvatrāya (Irva + ta + āya = he of Irva); Sagarittāya (he of Sagari), Sabarāya (he of Sabara); Parlattāya (he of Parla); Vailāya (he of Vaila); Puņcattāya (he of a place called Puṇca),

There are a few family names derived from house names which denote the particular position with respect to other houses of the locality; e.g. Naddillāya (Nadu + il + āya = he of the middle house; this is also known by an alternate form as Naddantāya); (In fact Madhvācārya came from the stock of Naddantāya family); Paddillāya (Paddai + il + āya = he of the western house); Mūdillāya (mudai+il + āya = he of the eastern house); Tenkillāya (tenkai + il + āya = he of the southern house); Badakkillāya (badakkai + il + āya = he of the northern house); Mittantāya (mittan + ta + āya = he of the higher house); Oppantāya (Oppan + ta + āya = he of the beautiful house).

A small number of family names signify the names of animals: e.g. Kudrettāya (kudre + ta + āya = he of the horse); eliyattāya (eliya + ta + āya = he of 'eliya'; 'eliya' may either be a place name or something to do with 'eli' meaning 'rat'); Baļļukrāya (baļļukr + āya = he of the baļļukra; baļļukr may be either a place name like Baļkūr or something to do with 'baļļu' meaning 'fox'; so also another name Baļļullāya.

Yet another variety of names throw light on the past positions held by the ancestors of those families in the social or political setup. Among these names like 'Ballāļa', 'Pergade' (Heggade) are shared by different communities. Ballāļa (Balla + aļ learned man, ajwarrior); Pergade (Heggade) (Piridu kade, of the big place). These two may be loans from Kannada. There are two other names Hebbār and Adiga; Hebbār (Hiriya parvar? elderly Brahmin); Adiga (Adiga, one engaged in worshipping the feet of the Lord, a temple priest). These two also may be loans from Kannada.

Nakṣatrāya, Kalyāṇattāya, Uppāndru, Aggittāya (Annintāya), Pujetteya, Udupa, Aittāļa, Polnāya, Padakaṇṇāya, Pāngaṇṇāya, Kēkuṇṇāya, Belirāya, Bārittāya, etc. are yet other names pregnant with meaning which are likely to illuminate the past. Nakṣatrāya (nakṣatra+āya=he knowing about stars, an astronomer or astrologer); Kalyāṇattāya (Kalyāṇ+ta+āya=he of auspicious things, master of ceremo-

nies?); Annintāya (Anninta+āya=agni+ta+āya=one engaged in sacrificial fires). Aittāļa (Aittāļa (Aitta+āļa=of aditya, sun, observer of sun, again an astronomer or astrologer). Udupā, also may mean astronomer or astrologer, the word Udu (Skt.) and Udupa meaning star and moon.

Among certain sections of Tulu people besides the family names of Ballala and Heggada, there are the following family names which indicate the position or responsibility held by their forefathers. Alva, Punja, Pakala, Melanta, Ariga, Konde, Padivāla, Tapālya and some of the names evidently of Sanskrit-origin-Gouda (Gounda), Setty, Nāyika, Rāi, Kottāri, Bandāry, Sēka, Ācāri, Pūjāri, Baidya etc. A good many of these family names are self-expressive. 'Alva' (cf. root 'āl' to rule), one who rules; Pūnja (cf. pū, flower) the flower of the community (the cock with its beautiful flower-like red crest is called punja' in Tulu). Mēlante (cf. mēl, high, above) the general supervisor; Ariga (cf. ari, rice) a man dealing in rice; Konde (cf. kol, to take, especially land revenue; 'konde' is also a unit of measure in Tulu), a revenue official. Padivala (cf. Padi, a measure, door, return) may be a revenue official or an official attached to the Royal household in charge of confidential matters.

Meanings of most of the words of Sanskrit origin are evident and most of them are found also among people of other languages having the some import. Among these only the word 'Baidya' deserves special comment. At one time, the members of the 'Baidya' (Skt. vaidya) were the authorised medical practitioners of the locality. Until the last generation experts could be found among these people who could cure diseases by the administration of efficacious herbs and 'mantras.' Now that generation is passing away.

An analysis of the family names or titles borne by the speakers of other Dravidian languages will yield fruitful results. Pāvate, Basavanāļ, Gōkāk, Jāvaļi, Karki, Rāya, Ayya, Seṭṭy, Gouda, etc., prevailing among the Kannadigas, Mudali-ār (Mudanmaiyār,

SOME FAMILY NAMES IN TULUVA

'the foremost ones'), Pillai, Nāyanār, Nādār, Nāikkar, Padaiyācci, Ayyar, Ayyangār, etc. prevailing among the Tamils, Nāidu, Reddy, Ayyā, Rāvu, etc., prevailing among the Telugus, and Nāyar, Menon, Pillai, Nambiyār, Vāriyar, Kuruppu, Panikkar, Nampūtiri, Emprāntiri, etc., prevailing among the Malayalis may be mentioned as the important family names of South India. A careful scrutiny will make us realise that there is a fundamental unity in the principle underlying the structure and import of these diverse family names.

MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN LOAN-WORDS IN MODERN TAMIL'

By

S. Vaidyanathan, Poona

I have collected the data from the Tamil Lexicon² and rejected those vocables which do not occur in Modern Tamil (Md.Ta.).

Since the phonemic correspondence of these words in Md.Ta. are better comparable either with their Prakrit (Pkt.) or with their Pali forms than with Sanskrit (Skt.), I consider them as Middle Indo-Aryan (MIT) loan-words. In other words, if they had been borrowed directly from Skt. their phonemic correspondences in Md.Ta. would have been different.

An attempt is made in this paper, to study the phonology of the said loans in Md.Ta. I have restricted my consideration to the consonantal phonemes of the loans under discussion.

To show the antiquity of these loans here, I have given below their first occurrence.³ I have not ignored the fact that most of these vocables occur in Old (otherwise known as 'Cankam') Tamil Literature also.

^{1.} By the term Modern Tamil is meant the colloquial Tamil of the present-day. The pronunciation referred to here, is quite representative of a common dialect in South Arcot District.

^{3.} For the occurrence of the Skt. forms, I owe much to Böthlingk-Roth, Worterbuch. Those words under discussion which occur other than in the Vedas and Vedic Samhitās are given. I have recorded the Pali forms of the words, as found in Childers, Pali-English Dictionary. The various forms of Pkt., I owe to R. Pischel's Grammatik Der Prakrit Sprachen, and G. V. Tagare's Historical Grammar of Apabhransa.

- Skt. agni- > Pkt. (Apabhramsa) (ApB) and Ardhamāgadhi (AmG). aggi > Md.Ta./akki/ 'Herpes', a kind of Skin disease.
- 2. Pkt. attā > Md. Ta. /atte/4 'aunt', 'mother-in-law'
- 3. Pkt. appa > Md.Ta./appa/ 'father', father-in-law
- 4. Skt. ambā- > Pkt. [(AmG) and Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī (JM)]: ammo ApB. ammā > Md.Ta./amma/5 'mother', mother-in-law', 'general way of addressing woman'
- 5. Skt. ājñā- (Since the Rāmāyaṇa) > Pkt. āṇā > Md.Ta./a:ne/ 'oath'.
 - 6. Skt. s'rēņi- < Md.Ta./e:ni/6 'ladder'
 - 7. Skt. kakṣyā- > Pkt. kacchā > Md. Ta./kəcce/⁷ 'belt'
 - 8. Skt. kastham- > Pkt. kattha > Md. Ta./katte/ 'timber'
 - 9. Skt. kṛṣṇa- > Pkt. kaṇha > Md. Ta./kəṇṇam/ 'Name of God'
 - 10. Skt. karmakāra- > Pkt. kammārā > Md. Ta./kəmmaļam/
 'Caste-title of the smiths'
 - 11. Skt. skhambha > Pkt. khambha > Md. Ta./kəmpom/
 'pillar'
 - 12. Skt. kavala-(Since the Epics) > Pkt. kavada > Md. 'Ta./ kəvalom/ 'a morsel' (of food)
 - 4. K. Amrita Row considers this word as a loan from the Dravidian into Pkt. See. 'The Dravidian Element in Prakrit' IA, vol. 46, pp. 33-5.
 - Also see T. Burrow, 'Dravidian Studies-VII,' BSOS, vol. 12, p. 366. Cf. Albrecht Weber, 'Wortindex,' Das Saptacatakam Das Hala, p. 532.
 - 5. Since this word can be compared with its ApB form. I consider this as a loan from ApB dialect of Pkt.
 - 6. T. Burrow, op. cit., (VI)
 - See R. L. Turner, Skt ākṣēti and Pali acchati in Modern Indo-Aryan, BSOS, vol 8, pp. 795-812. Also Cf. G. V. Tagare, op. cit., § 61. B. Treatment of OIA kṣ, p. 91.
 - Kamil Zvelebil, says that the change of Skt. -ks- into Tamil. -cc-, is found in the Tamil literature, which he places in 750 A. D. See his Iniyavai Nārpatu, ArO, 1958, 26/3, p. 411.

- Kuiper (Proto-Munda Words in Sanskrit) gives the Proto-Munda form of this word as *kabada-. But Burrow (TPS. 1947) derives it from the Tamilroot, kavvu- 'to bite', 'to seize with mouth'. Kuiper admits that if the derivation given by Burrow is accepted, then the theories of Luider (Philologia Indica) and Geiger (Pali Language and Literature) would not hold good.
- It has been brought to light that in ApB, intervocalic -d- and -d- were changed into -l-. Also the Southern Manuscripts of this dialect show the change of the intervocalic -l- to -l-. Hence the possibility of Pkt. kavada- changing into *kavala- (in this instance the Skt. form might be a loan from Pkt.) and later on /kəvalom/ in Md. Ta., cannot be ignored.
- 13. Skt. s'ramana-(Since the Satapatha Brāhmana) > Pkt. samana Md. Ta./samənar/ 'the Jains'
- 14. Skt. sāpa > Md. Ta./śa:vom/ 'curse'
- 15. Skt. svāmin-(Since the Epics) > Pkt. and Pali. sāmī > Md. Ta./sami./ 'God', 'an honorofic term used to address the Brahmins'
- 16. Skt. sipra-(Since the Trikāṇḍaśēṣa) > Pkt. sippi > Md. Ta. /śippi/ 'oyster-shell'
- 17. Skt. śūnya-(Since the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa) > Pkt. suṇṇa > Md. Ta. /sunnom/ 'cipher'
- 18. Skt. svara- > Pkt. sara > Md. Ta. /sorom/ 'musical note'
- 19. Skt. s'rēṣṭhi-(Since the Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa) > Pkt. seṭṭhi > Md. Ta. /s'eṭṭi/ 'caste-title of the Vais'yas'
- 20. Skt. jñāna-(Since the Śānkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra) > Pali. ñānam > Md. Ta. /ña. nom/ 'knowledge
- 21. Skt. nyāya- > Pali ñāyo > Md. Ta./ña: yom/10 'Justice'
- 8. See F. B. J. Kuiper, Proto-Munda Words in Sanskrit, pp. 34-5.
- 9. G. V. Tagare, op. cit., § 49, p. 74.
- 10. Another form of this word, borrowed from Skt nyāya⊳ Md. Ta. /nya:om/ is also prevalent.

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- 22. Skt. dhātri- > Pkt. dhatti > Md.Ta./da:ti¹¹ 'nurse, 'foster-mother'
- 23. Skt. sthuna > Pkt. thuna > Md. Ta./tu: n/ 'pillar'
- 24. Skt. pakṣa- > Pkt. pakkha > Md.Ta./pəkkom/ 'side', 'a page in a book'
- 25. Skt. phālguṇa- (Since Pāṇini) > Pkt. phagguṇa > Md.Ta./pənkuni/ 'the 12th month of the Tamil year'
- 26. Skt. pankti- > Pkt. panti > Md.Ta./pənti/ 'row', 'a series'
- 27. Skt. pravala- (Since the Rāmāyaṇa) > Pkt. pavala > Md.Ta./pəvalom¹² 'coral'
- 28. Skt. musti > Pkt. mutthi > Md.Ta./mutti/ 'fist'
- 29. Skt. rakta- > Pkt. ratta > Md.Ta./rettom/ 'blood'
- 30. Skt. vrtta- > Pkt. vatta > Md.Ta./vattom/ 'circle'
- 31. Skt. vṛddhi- > Pkt. (JM) viddhi 'growth': AmG: Vaḍḍhi > Md.Ta./vaḍḍi/ 'interest on money invested'
- 32. Skt. vēs'ya > Pkt. vēsā > Md.Ta./ve:śi/ 'profligate'
- 33. Skt. vajra > Pkt. vayira- > Md.Ta./veirom/ 'diamond'
- 34. Skt. rājnī- > Pkt. rānī > Md.Ta./ra:ni/ 'queen'
- 35. Skt. ārya- > Pkt. and Pali. ayya > Md.Ta./eiyar/18 'caste-title of the Brahmins'
- 11. Another kinship terminology in Md. Ta. /ta: y/, 'mother', is a loan from Pkt, dhāyi ≼ Skt. dhātri-. But Dr. Mrs. Iravati Karve, derives /ta:y/ in Md. Ta. from Pkt. tāya ≼ Skt tāta. See her Kinship Organisation in India: Chapter V, The Kinship Organisation of the Southern Zone: See under Kinship Terminology in the Tamil Language. p. 204.
- 12. Cf. T. Burrow, 'Loan-Words in Sanskrit,' TPS, 1946, p. 15.
- 13. In Md. Ta., /ayya/, in the sense of 'sir', is also current.

LOAN-WORDS IN MODERN TAMIL

I have shown below by examples the substituting sounds of Md. Ta. for the loans under discussion.

MIA		Md.TA.	MIA.	ar Inc	Md.Ta. Wo	rd No.	
Stops:							
-p	>	-p	pakkha	>	/pəkkom/	24	
			panti	>	/pənti/	26	
			pavala	>	/pəvalom/	27	
-pp-	>	-pp-	appa	>	/appa/	3	
ph-	>	p-	phagguṇa	>	/penkuni/	25	
-bh-	>	-p-	khambha	>	/kəmpom/	11	
-tt-	>	-tt-	attā	>	/atte/	2	
-tt-	>	-1-02/	dhatti	>	/da:ti/	22	
th-	>	t-	thūna	>	/tu:n/	23	
dh-	>	d-	dhatti	>	/da:ti/	22	
-tt-	>	-ţţ-	vatta	> note	/vattom/	30	
-tth-	>	-ṭ ṭ -	katthā	>	/kətte/	8	
			setthi	>	/śeţţi/	19	
			muṭṭhi	>	/muṭṭi/	28	
-q-	>	-1- 	kavada	>	/molave/	12	
-ddh-	>	-qq-	vaddhi	>	/vaḍḍi/	31	
k-	>	k-	kacchā	>	/kəcce/	7	
the state of			kaţţhā	>	/kette/	8	
		Minne	kaṇha	>	/keṇṇam	9	
			kommārā		/kəmma: lom/	10	
			kavaḍa	>	/kəvalom/	12	
kh-	>	k-	khambha	>	/kəmpom/	11	
-kkh-	>	-kk	pakkha	>	/pəkkom/	24	
-gg-	>	-kk-	aggi	>	/akki/	1	
-gg-	>	-nk	phagguṇa	>	/pənkuni/	25	
Affricates:							
-çch-	>	-cc-	kaccha	>	/kəcce/	7	

Fricatives

Katre points out: "Of the three sibilants s, s and s except in the North-Western Prakrit either s' (in the East) or s (in other MIA dialects) remains; in Niya and other North-Western Prakrits all the three are preserved". It is worth mentioning here that in Md. Ta., s' has got higher frequency than the other two fricatives.

MIA.	Md.Ta.	MIA.	Lety-	Md.Ta.	Word No.
s- >	S-	sāmī	khan d l	/sa:mi/	15
		sunna	>	/sunnom/	17.11-
	A SECTION A	sara	>	/sorom/	18
s- >	Ø-	sēņi	>	/e:ni/	6
s- * >	ś.J.W	samana	> cha	/śamənar/	13
		sāva	> Tedla	/śa:vom/	14
		sippi	>	/s'ippi/	16
		setthi	>	/s'etti/	19
-s- >	-á-	vēsā	>	/ve:s'i/	32
v- >	V-	vațța	>	/vattom/	30
M4		vaddhi	>	/vaddi/	31
	millered	vēsā	>	/ve:s'a/	32
	Carried Stands	vayira		/vierom/	33
-v- >	-V-	kavada	>	/kəvalom/	12
		sāva	>	/s'a:vom/	14
Nasal315					
m- >	m-	mutthi	>	/mutti/	28
-m- >	201 1 B-m-	khambh	a>	/kəmpom/	
	(kovelows)	sāmī	⇒ avad	/sa:mi/	15
				,,	13

^{14.} See S. M. Katre, Prakrit Languages and their contribution to Indian Culture, p. 46.

^{15.} In Md. Ta. the speakers do not distinguish between the dental nasal (n) and alveolar (n), although they are distinguished in the writing system.

It is to be noted here, that all the nasalized vowels are analysed as the vowel + following 'm'. Therefore. /kema:lom/ should be read as [kemma:la] and /rettom/ as [rette] etc.

LOAN-WORDS IN MODERN TAMIL

MI	A.	Md. Ta.	MIA.		Md.Ta. Word	l No.	
-mm-	>	-mm-	amma	>	/amma/	4	
			kammārā	i >	/kəmma:lom/	10	
-n-	>	-n-	ñāṇam	>	Hairo III-	20	
			phagguna		/ Politicality	25	
-nn-	>	-nn-	sunna	>	/sunnom/	17	
-n-	>	-ņ-	āņā	>	/a:ne/	5	
			sēni	>	/e:ṇi/	6	
			samana	>	/śaməṇar/	13	
			thūṇa	>	/tu:n/	23	
			rāņī	>	/ra:ṇi/	34	
ñ	>	ñ-	ñāṇam	>	/ña:nom/	20	
			ñāyo	>	/ña:yom/	21	
Semi-Vowels							
-y-	>	eye	ñāyo	>	/ña:yom/	21	
-yy-	>	-V-	ayya	>	/eiyar/	35	
r-	>	r-	ratta	>	/rəttom/	29	
			rāņī	>	/ra:ni/	34	
-r-	>	-r-	sara	>	/sorom/	18	
			vayira	>	/veirom/	33	
-r-	>	-1-	kammā	rā >	/kəmmalom/	10	
-1-	>	-į-	pavala	>	/pəvalom/	27	

From a study of the consonantal phonemes of these loans, we find that:

(1) the aspirated stop consonants (both voiced and voiceless) of MIA. are substituted by the deaspirated variety in Md. Ta.; (2) the stop consonants are geminated only between the short vowels; and (3) they change as single voiced consonants, after a long vowel and before a short vowel.¹⁶

This is an instance of the assimilation of the loan phonemes into the phonemic system of Md. Ta.

^{16.} Cf. Alfred Master, 'Indo-Aryan and Dravidian -III', BSOS vol. 12, p. 345.

SOME IDIOMS AND PROVERBS BASED ON RAMAYANA IN THE TELUGU LANGUAGE

- By

P. Gopalakrishna Murthy, Siddipet (A.P.)

Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata and Bhāgavata form the literary trinity which inspired almost all the Indian languages. The influence of Rāmāyaṇa on the Telugu language and literature is great. Due to insatiable thirst and everlasting love many works on Rāmāyaṇa were produced from the 14th century till modern times. At present there are more than ten different works on Rāmāyaṇa: Yerrāpragaḍa Rāmāyaṇa, Bhāskara Rāmāyaṇa, Ranganātha Rāmāyaṇa, Molla Rāmāyaṇa, Raghunātha Rāmāyaṇa, Varadarāja Rāmāyaṇa, Accatelugu Rāmāyaṇa, Gopīnātha Rāmāyaṇa, Āndhra Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, Śrī Kṛṣṇa Rāmāyaṇa, Visvanātha Rāmāyaṇa, Kalpavṛkṣa, etc.

The Rāmāyaṇa gained wide popularity not only among scholars but also among the illiterate folk. Many important stories and events from the Rāmāyaṇa were composed in the form of Harikathās, Burrakathās, and folk-songs to make them easily comprehensible to everyone. They are very popular among all sections of the society in Andhra Pradesh. Among folk-lore, the songs and ballads based on the Rāmāyaṇa form the major part. Famous among them are Kausalyā Baikalu, Sītammā Samarta, Ūrmilādevī Nidrā, Lakṣmaṇadevara Navuu, Lankāyāgamu, Kusalava Kuccala Charitra, etc.

The compositions of Tyagaraja, and the Kirtanas of Ramadas are also unforgettable chapters in the history of Telugu literature.

There are many idioms and proverbs in Telugu which owe their birth to the Rāmāyaṇa. The richness and sweetness of any language depends upon the idioms and proverbs possessed by it. This essay deals with such of these popular idioms and proverbs found in daily use.

DRAVIDIC STUDIES

PROVERBS

- 1. Rāmāyaṇamantā vini Rāmudiki Sīta ēmoutundi annatlu (Having heard the whole of Rāmāyaṇa, to ask the relationship of Sītā to Rāma): Not understanding the preliminary points.
 - 2. Rāmayaṇamulō Piḍakalavēṭa. (To hunt after cowdung-cakes in Rāmāyaṇa): Something unconnected.

I am of opinion that the original form of the above proverb may be 'Rāmayaṇamulō Piḍakalavēṭa (Search for piṭakas in Rāmāyaṇa). Piṭakas are the sacred books of the Buddhists. The above proverb humiliates a person who tries in vain to search for Buddhist preachings in Rāmāyaṇa.

- 3. Nāchinnīpottaku Śrī Rāma rakṣa (May Rāma save my little belly): Selfishness.
- 4. Cadivevi Rāmāyana Bhāratālu-Padadosēvi Devālayālu (Studies Rāmāyana and Bhārata, but destroys temples):
 Preaching one thing and practising another.
 - 5. Cāvutappi kannu lotta povuta (Escapes death by losing the eye): To incur a small loss in preference to a heavy one.

Rāma used a powerful astra on a demon named Kākāsura. The demon could not find anyone in the world to save him from the danger. At last he went to Rāma and begged his pardon. In the end he saved himself from death by losing one eye as a sacrifice to the astra. The crow (Kākāsura) saved its life but lost its eye.

- 6. Padintlo padakondu (eleventh besides ten): When there are many thing to be done, an addition of one more need not to be felt burdensome.
- "What will happen if Vibhīṣaṇa deceives Rāma? 'enquired somebody. It was answered that his head would be the eleventh besides Rāvaṇa's ten heads.
- 7. Intiguttu Lankaku cētu (Home secrets destroyed Lankā):
 A house divided will not stand.

RAMAYANA IDIOMS & PROVERBS IN TELUGU 291

- 8. Rāmuḍi Rājyam: Bharatuḍi Paṭṭam (Rama's kingdom—Bharata's coronation): Generally in day to day affairs this proverb is used when one persen enjoys at the expense of another.
- 9. Andorukayettu-Agastyudoka yettu (All on one side—Agastya on the other): to be treated specially.
- 10. Hanumantuni mundu kuppigantulā? (Skipping in presence of Hanumān)—A layman's display in the presence of the learned.
- 11. Navuu Nālugāndāla ceṭu (Laughter brings fourfold harm):
 During the coronation of Rāma, his brother Lakṣmaṇa
 laughed suddenly when he felt sleepy. Everyone in the
 court felt insulted by his action. At length knowing
 the real reason of his sudden laughter he was excused.
 This interesting ancedote has been dealt in 'Lakṣmaṇadevara navuu'.
- 12. Jīrṇam, jīrṇam, Vātāpi jīrṇam (Vātāpi, get digested, digested!): It refers to the famous story of the digestion of Vātāpi by Agastya. It is used in case of children as a solemn wish that any hard food may get digested soon. It is also used as an indication to quick digestion.
 - 13. Kaţţe-Koţţe-Tecce: (Built, beat, brought): To express in a compact way. The whole of the Rāmāyaṇa is explained by the above proverb in three words. Rāma built a dam, defeated Rāvaṇa, and brought back Sītā.
 - 14. Rāmāyanamu ranku—Bhāratamu bonku. (Debauchery in Rāmāyana and lies in the Bharata): To exaggerate the evil and neglect the good.
 - 15. Lankānu buttevannī rākṣasulē. (All those born in Lańkā are demons). This is used when most of the members of a family possess bad qualities. Women use this proverb when they get irritated with their naughty children.
 - 16. Rāmāya svasti—Rāvaņāya svasti (Hail Rāma—Hail Rāvaņa): To sail with the wind, The keen combat

between Rāma and Rāvaṇa was witnessed by the Gods, rṣis and many others. The spectators praised Rāma when he was in an advantageous position. The same spectators hailed Rāvaṇa when he was found superior to Rāma.

17. Cūci rammanțē kālci vaccinațlu (As though having burnt and returned when just asked to go and find out): To do more than what is required. Hanumān was sent by Rāma in search of Sītā. Not only did he find Sītā but burned the whole of Lankā before returning.

IDIOMS

- 1. Sugrīva ājītā (Sugrīva's command): A command to be obeyed implicitly.
- 2. Rāma bāṇamu (Rama's arrow): Irrestistible.
- 3. Trisanku svargamu (Heaven of Trisanku): Neither of the two; Perched in the middle.
- 4. Agastya Bhrātā (Agastya's brother): A man with reflected glory.
- 5. Rāmarājyamu (Rama's kingdom): A welfare state.
- 6. Parasurāma prīti (Pleasure to Parasurāma): When some property is burnt the above idiom is used. Parasurāma took a vow to root out the Kṣatriyas. So he assaulted 21 times the kings throughout India. Mythology does not reveal any thing specific whether Parasurāma burnt his enemys camps during his invations. But from the above popular usage, I suppose that Parasurāma might have burnt the camps to terrorise the enemy. This idiom reveals this particular aspect during Parasurāma's invasions which was perhaps left out by the Purānas.
- 7. Manthara bodhalu (Advice of Manthara): Bad preaching capable of misleading.
- 8. Kabandha hastālu (Kabandha's arms): forced occupation,

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- 9. Kişkindhāpurāgrahārīkulu (Inhabitants of Kişkindhāpurāgrahāra): Monkeys; usually referred to young mischivous boys.
- 10, 11. Rāmam dhūli (Rama's dust), Ramam dādi (Rama's invation): Incessant. It is said that the dust produced by the marching of Rāma's countless vānara army continued for a long time. His army was so enormous that even after the death of Rāvaṇa a part of the army was still crossing the sea.
- 12. Sītamma vāri ceralu (Miseries of Sītā): Miseries which shake the hearts of others.
- 13. Alō Lakşmaṇā ani edcuṭa (Uttering Lo! Lakṣmaṇa! while crying): An idiomatic expression used when crying in difficulties.
- 14. Annamō Rāmacandrā anuṭa (Oh, Ramacandra, give me a morsel of food): Eagerness for food.
- 15. Uduta bhakti (Squirrel's devotion): To assist according to one's capacity. While the construction of the Setu over the sea was progressing, a squirrel too helped in the construction work by spraying the sand from its body many a time. Thus it drew the attention of Rāma and was duly rewarded by him.
- 16. Cuppanāti (Cuppanāka): Jealous person. This word takes its origin from the Sanskrit word 'S'ūrpaṇakhā', sister of Rāvaṇa. Cuppanāka and Cuppanāti are synonymous.
- 17. Srīrāma cuṭṭuṭa (Writing Śrī Rāma): To begin. It is the usual procedure in the Telugu country to write the word 'Śrī Rāma' on the top of the page just before writing any letter, draft or important deed.
- 18. Rāma Rāma anakūdadu (Not worth saying even Rāma, Rāma): Not fit to be excused.
- 19. Vāli Sugrīvulu (Vāli and Sugrīva): Two persons with close resemblance.

- 20. Rāma Laksmaņulu (Rāma and Laksmaņa): Very affectionate brothers.
- 21. Rāvaṇāsuriḍi kāṣṭham: (cremation of Rāvaṇa): An incessant problem. Ravaṇa's pyre is supposed to be still smoking due to the boon given to his wife, Maṇḍodarī.
 - 22. Lankanta Illu (House as big as Lanka): A mansion.
 - 23. Kumbhakarnudi nidrā (Kumbhakarna's sleep): Sleep which cannot be easily disturbed. Kumbhakarna, the brother of Rāvana was notorious for his six-month sleep.
 - 24, 25. Dēvāntakudu: Kālāntakudu: Cunning people. These are the names of two princes of Lanka who are known for their Māyāyuddha.
 - 26. Kālanemi: A cunning person who stands in the way of others. Kālanemi, a demon, was directed to spoil the efforts of Hanumān in getting 'Sañjīvinī' in time.
 - 27. Rāvaņa Sambara māyalu (Magic deeds of Rāvaņa and Sambara): Evil plans.
 - 28. Bhagīratha prayatnamu (Bhagīratha's effort): Herculean effort; to move heaven and earth. Bhagīratha by his staunch efforts could bring the sacred river Ganges from heaven to earth which his forefathers could not.
- 29. Brāhmadēvuni chembaţiki (Nature's call of Lord Brahmā):

 To delay till the scheduled time is over. A legend runs thus. Lord Brahmā was invited for the 'Nāmakaraṇa' of Rāvaṇa when he was just a'few days old. Brahmā promised to attend the function after answering the nature's call. When after his return he asked the child to be brought to him, he was informed that the boy had attained maturity with the name of Rāvaṇa, had conquered the whole world and was finally killed by Rāma long ago. The phrase takes the meaning from the fact that a very short period according to 'Brāhma-kālamāna' is equal to thousands of years in human time measurement.

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1,000 caturyugas, i.e., $1000 \times 4,320,000$ human years, are equivalent to a day or night of Brahmā, which is called a kalpa.

- 30. Ākāša Rāmanna. Anonymous. The expression 'Ākās'a rāmanna' is often uttered by the Telugu people with regard to anonymous letters etc.
- 31. Caturmukha Rāmāyaņamu (four-faced Rāmāyaṇa): An idiomatic expression for playing cards.
- 32. Pādukā paṭṭābhiṣekamu (Coronation of the shoes):
 A satirical usage when a person is beaten with shoes.
- 33. Iksvākulanātidi. Belonging to antiquity.
- 34. Rāma Rāvaṇa yuddhamu (War between Rāma and Rāvaṇa): Unusually big fight among persons.
- 35. Jāmbavantudu: An experienced old man who has witnessed men and matters.
- 36. Sītā Rāma Koruta (Wanting Sītā Rāma): Prosperous.
- 37. Sugrīva bobba (Sugrīva's loud cry): Crying loudly.

The above proverbs and idioms are formed not only on the basis of $V\bar{a}lm\bar{i}k\bar{i}$ $R\bar{a}m\bar{a}yana$ but also on $A-v\bar{a}lm\bar{i}k\bar{i}ya$ $R\bar{a}m\bar{a}yanas$ like Vicitra $R\bar{a}m\bar{a}yana$, $V\bar{a}sisitha$ $R\bar{a}m\bar{a}yana$, etc. We may classify, the idioms as follows:

- 1. Those used only when the persons possess the qualities of some of the characters in the Rāmāyaṇa, e.g., Jāmbavantudu, Devāntakudu, etc.
- 2. Those backed by legends or mythology. e.g.: Uduta Bhakti, Bhagīratha prayatnamu, etc.
- 3. Those based on certain features that attracted attention, e.g., Rāmabāṇa, Sugrīvājñā, etc.

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SECTION XII: PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

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A LOST WORK OF PRASASTAPADA

By

A. Vasudeva Jha, Darbhanga

The Padārthadharmasamgraha (PDS) is the only available work of Praśastapāda. But it can be seen from references that another work on the Vaiśeṣika system was written by Praśastapāda. Some fragments of this work are quoted and refuted in some of the heterodox texts including the Tattvasamgrahapānjikā (TSP) of Kamalas'ila and the Ṣanmatiṭīkā (SMT) of Abhayadeva Sūri. Although this work is ascribed there to "Praśastamati" it is possible to see that the two names, Pras'astamati and Pras'astapāda, denote only the same personality for the following reasons:

- 1. The author of the Padārthadharmasamgraha is variously mentioned as Praśastapāda, Pras'astakara¹, Pras'astakara¹ deva², Praśastadevācārya³, Praśastakāra⁴ etc. in philosophical literature. It seems that 'Pras'asta' was the name of this author and pāda, kara etc. were only honorofic adjuncts. We may therefore take it that "mati" is also one such adjunct and Praśastamati is identical with Praśastapāda.
- 2. Fragments from Pras'astamati, relating to the problems of Visesa and Samavāya quoted by Kamalasīla agree with the corresponding passages of the Padārthadharmasamgraha in content and expression. For example:

(a) TSP p. 264:

प्रशस्तमतेरुत्तरमाशङ्कते । स ह्याह—"ययाश्वमांसादीनां स्वत एवाश्वित्वम् , तद्योगाचान्येषां, तथा इहापि तादात्म्यादन्त्येषु विशेषेषु स्वत एव व्यावृत्तिप्रत्ययहेतुत्वम् । तद्योगाच परमाणुषु । किञ्चातादात्मकेष्वप्यन्यनिमित्तः प्रत्ययो भवत्येव । यथा घटादिषु प्रदीपात्, न तु प्रदीपेषु घटादिभ्यः । ''

^{1.} cf. Aptaparīksā, p. 106

^{2.} cf. Introduction to the Nyāyakandalī

^{3.} Upaskāra, pp. 28, 195

^{4.} Tarkarahasyadī pikā of Gunaratna, p. 277

PDS p. 691-92: (Vyomavati edn).

" इहातादात्म्येष्वन्यनिमित्तः प्रत्ययो भवति यथा घटादिषु प्रदीपात्, न तु प्रदीपे प्रदीपान्तरात्। यथा गवाश्वमांसादीनां स्वत एवाश्चित्वम्। तद्योगाद्न्येषाम्, तयेहाऽपि तादात्म्यादन्त्यविशेषेषु स्वत एव प्रत्ययव्यावृत्तिः, तद्योगात् परभाण्वादि- ष्विति।"

(b) TSP p. 269:

स शाह—''यराप्येकः समवायस्तथापि पञ्चपदार्थसङ्करो न भवति, आधाराधेय-नियमात्। तथाहि— द्रव्येष्वेव द्रव्यत्वम् , गुणेष्वेव गुणत्वम् , कर्मस्वेव कर्मत्वम् इत्येव द्रव्यत्वादीनां प्रतिनियताधारावच्छेदेन प्रतिपत्तिरुपजायते ।''

PDS p. 697:

" ननु यथेकः समवायःपदार्थसङ्करप्रसङ्ग इति, न आधाराधेयनियमात् । यथाप्येकः समवायः सर्वत्र स्वतन्त्रः तथाप्याधाराधेयनियमोऽस्ति । कथम् १ द्रव्येष्वेव द्रव्यस्वम् , गुणेष्वेव गुणत्वम् , कर्मस्वेव कर्मत्वमिति ।"

TSP p. 269:

(कथं पुनः सम्बन्धाविशेषेऽप्यमीषामाधाराधेयप्रतिनियमो युज्यत इत्याह)— "यथाहि कुण्डदम्नोः संयोगकत्वेऽपि भवत्याश्रयाश्रयिप्रतिनियमः तथा द्रव्यत्वादीनां समवायैकत्वेऽपि व्यङ्गयव्यज्ञकशक्तिमेदादाधाराधेयनियमः।"

PDS p. 697:

''यथा कुण्डद्घनोः संयोगैकत्वेऽपि भवत्याश्रयाश्रयिभावनियमः तथा द्रव्यत्वादीना-मपि समवायैकत्वेऽपि व्यङ्गचव्यञ्जकशक्तिमेदादाधाराधेयनियम इति ।''

Other fragments from Prasastamati differ in expression from the PDS but agree so far as their theme is concerned. These fragments are, therefore, very important since they should have been taken from another work of Prasastamati which is not available now.

(1) प्रशस्तमित्स्त्वाह—" सर्गादौ पुरुषाणां व्यवहारोऽन्योपदेशपूर्वकः, उत्तर-कालं प्रमुद्धानां प्रत्यर्थनियतत्वात् । अप्रसिद्धवाग्व्यवहाराणां कुमाराणां गवादिषु प्रत्यर्थनियतो वाग्व्यवहारो, यथा मात्राद्युपदेशपूर्वक इति ।

(TSP p. 43. See Sanmatistkā, p. 101)

(2) तथा चाहुः प्रशास्तमित्रमृतयः—" सकलभुवनहेतुत्वादेवास्य सर्वज्ञत्वं सिद्धम्। कर्तुः कार्योपादानोपकरणप्रयोजनसम्प्रदानपरिज्ञानातः। इह हि यो यस्य कत्ता भवित स तस्योपादानादीनि जानीते। यथा कुलालः कुम्भादीनां कर्त्ता तदुपादानं मृत्पिण्ड- मुपकरणानि च चक्रादीनि, प्रयोजनमुदकाहरणादि, कुडुम्बिनां च सम्प्रदानं जानीत इत्येतत् प्रसिद्धम्। तथा ईश्वरः सकलभुवनानां कर्त्ता। स तदुपादानानि परमाण्वादिलक्षणानि, तदुपकरणानि धर्माधर्मदिक्कालादीनि, व्यवहारोपकरणानि सामान्यविशेषसमवायलक्षणानि, प्रयोजनमुपभोगं संप्रदानसंज्ञकाश्व जानीत इति।"

(TSP p. 43. See SMT p. 101)

- (3) अपरं प्रमाणकदम्वकं तैरुक्तम् । ''विचित्रोदयप्रस्पन्दास्पदानास्पदं विमत्यधि-करणभावापचं द्वितीयादिप्रमाणपञ्चकव्यतिरिक्तप्रमाणान्तरावच्छेद्यम् , वस्तुत्वादिभ्यो रुपा-दिवत् । वैधर्म्येण कूर्मरोमादय इति । '' (TSP p. 44)
- (4) अत्र प्रशस्तमितिरेककर्तृश्वसिद्धये प्रमाणयति । "एकाधिष्ठानाः ब्रह्मादयः पिशाचान्ताः परस्परातिशयवृत्तित्वात् । इह येषां परस्परातिशयवृत्तित्वं तेषामेकायत्तता हृष्टा । यथेह नगरे गृहग्रामनगरदेशाधिपतीनामेकस्मिन् सार्वभौमे नरपतौ, तथा च भुजगरक्षोयक्षप्रभृतीनां परस्परातिशयवृत्तित्वम्, तेन मन्यामहे तेषामप्येकस्मिन्नीश्वरे पार-तन्त्र्यमिति ''। (TSP p. 44)
- (5) इदं चापरं तेन्व साधनमुक्तम्—" सप्तभुवनान्येकवुद्धिनिर्मितानि, एकवस्त्वन्त-र्गतत्वात् । एकावसथान्तर्गतापवरकवत् । यथैकावसथान्तर्गतानामपवरकाणां सूत्रधारक-बुद्धिनिर्मितत्वदृष्टं तथैकस्मिन्नेव भुवनेऽन्तर्गतानि सप्तभुवनानि । तस्मात्तेषामप्येकबुद्धि-निर्मितत्वं निश्चीयते । यद्बुद्धिनिर्मितानि चैतानि स भगवान् महेश्वरः सकलभुवनैकसूत्र-धार इति ।"

(TSP p. 57. See SMT p. 132)

यदाह प्रशस्तमितः—" परानुग्रहार्थमीश्वरः प्रवर्तते । यथा कृतार्थः कश्चिन्मुनि-रात्मिहिताहितप्राप्तिपरिहारासंभवेऽपि परिहतार्थमुपदेशं करोति । तथेश्वरोऽप्यात्मीया-मैश्वर्यविभूतिं विख्याप्य प्राणिमोऽनुग्रहीष्यन् प्रवर्तते इति । अथवा शक्तिस्वाभाव्यात् । यथा कालस्य वसन्तादीनां पर्यायेणाभिव्यक्तौ स्थावरजङ्गमविकारोत्पत्तिः स्वभावतः तथेश्वरस्याप्याविभावानुग्रहसंहारशक्तीनां पर्यायेणाभिव्यक्तौ प्राणिनामुत्पत्तिस्थितिप्रलय-हेतुकस्वभिति ।

(TSP p. 78. See SMT p. 716)

ययेवं तर्हि समवायः प्रतिपदार्थभिनः प्राप्नोतीत्याह इहेत्यादि—'इहेति समवाय-निमित्तस्य प्रत्ययस्य सर्वत्राभिन्नाकारतयान्वयदर्शनात् सर्वत्रैकः समवाय इति गम्यते । संत्यपि चैकत्वे द्रव्यक्षादिनिर्मित्तानां धियां प्रतिनियताधारावच्छेदेनोत्पत्तः व्यतिरेकस्या-नन्वयलक्षणस्य दर्शनाद् द्रव्यत्वादिजातीनां व्यतिरेको विज्ञायते । तेन पश्चपदार्थसंकरो न भवति ।

(TSP p. 269)

Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya in his Introduction to the Tattvasamgraha (p. LXXXIX) calls Prasastamati a Naiyāyika. This is true only in a general sense, i.e. if we call the Vaisesika authors also Naiyāyikas. But the passages concerned unmistakably show a Vaisesika-stamp and as such we have to conclude that Pras'astamati was a Vaisesika author. The earlier work of this author was in all probability an elaborate commentary on the Vaisesika Sūtras. In that case alone does the question of composition of a "digest" like the Padarthadharmasaingraha arise. We may also point out here that as the Vaisesika Sūtras are not systematic in dealing with categories, later commentators on them like Samkara Miśra and Jayanārāyaņa Tarkapañcānana felt the necessity of adding digests in the form of the Kanadarahasya and the Sastrarthasamgraha to the Vaisesikasūtropaskāra and the Kanādasūtravrtti respectively. Candrakanta Tarkalamkara also adds a similar digest to the Introduction to his Bhāṣya.

THE DOCTRINE OF KARANA IN GRAMMAR AND LOGIC

By

Prof. Bimal Krishna Motilal, Calcutta

Logic is intimately related to grammar. Logical procedure includes an analysis of language, i.e. words and sentences. Indian Logic is sometimes designated as Pramāṇa Śāstra. Now what is Pramāṇa? The answer in brief is this: Pramāṇa, as the etymology of the word indicates, is pramā-karaṇa, i.e., the the instrumental cause to what is known as Pramā. The suffix lyut has been used here in karaṇa-vācya. Thus we come to another question, What is Karaṇa? Or, to be more clear, what actually is this karaṇatā or instrumentality by which a thing is designated as Karaṇa of something?

Karana from the point of view of Grammar, is one of the Kārakas or cases; and from the point of view of Logic it is a special type of Kāraņa or cause. Thus Karana is Kārakatvavyāpyadharma ('a property pervaded by the generic Kārakatva') and also a Kāranatvavyāpyadharma ('a property pervaded by the generic property Kāraņatva). By Kārakatva, the grammarians understand certain relations of the nouns to the verb of a sentence. Generally as many as six essential relations of nouns to the verb are expressed in a sentence. These six specific relations are grouped under the generic name Kāraka. One cannot exactly say that these six relations exhaust the list of all possible relations of nouns to a verb of the sentence. It is safe to say that Kāraka is the technical name given to these six specific relations almost arbitrarily chosen. Karana as a kāraka is directly related to a verb. And as kāraņa or cause karaņa has always a reference to some non-eternal entity (I exclude Prāgabhāva from this) which is called Kārya, being so regarded as the effect or result of a complex of causes. There are causes to produce an effect or event, but all causes are not individually so many karanas. Let us take certain concrete illustrations of karana.

^{1.} cf. Kārakacakra.

We use sentences like "kutharena chinatti" ('cuts a tree with an axe'), taking the axe as the instrumental cause and therefore adding the instrumental case-ending² to it to express the instrumental sense. In English prepositions like "with" or "by" are generally used to denote instrumental sense in such cases. Thus the axe is regarded as a typical example of karana with reference to the present event, e.g. felling of the tree. As a product, this event is a result of a complex of causes. But of those so called causes the axe enjoys a special position by virtue of which it is regarded as karana, and not simply a kārana. Karana has thus been defined as the asādhārana-kārana or the unique or uncommon cause. But wherein does its uniquness or uncommonness lie? To be precise, what is the actual position of the axe in relation to the effect? In what relation does it stand to this felling of the tree? Enquiry in this line will reveal the true nature of karana.

That karana is a karaka par excellence, or more clearly a karana par excellence, almost all scholars are unanimous. But regarding the true character of this excellence or supremacy of karana over other causes, opinions vary. One school of thought (propounded, perhaps, by Uddyotakara first and then expounded by other scholars) assuming karana as the most efficient of all causal conditions, defines it as that cause which is immediately connected with the effect or Phala (phalopadhayaka-karanam). The most efficient cause, according to them, is the most effective cause, i.e. to say, that which finally precedes the effect. Thus karana in this view is the final (carama) cause, a cause which finally effects the effect. To be more clear karana is that cause which is distinguished from all other causes that are not immediately connected with the effect (phalayogavyavacchinnakāraņam). It follows that karaņa is such that, it being present the result must necessarily and immediately follow, (karanam ca tat yasmin sati kriyā bhavaty eva).3 For example, in the of felling a tree, the effective contact between the axe and the tree will be the final cause and hence karana in this view because this particular type of contact (vijātīya-samyoga) causes

^{2.} cf. Siddhantamuktavali.

^{3.} Tattvacintāmaņi, Śabdakhanda.

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the event itself without waiting any more for other conditions. Similarly in the case of visual perception, the final sense-object contact is regarded as the karana.

This school takes a logical view of karana as the chief cause. But one difficulty connected with this view is obvious. In popular language we take the axe as the karana in felling a tree, and the eye as the karana of visual perception. According to this view the axe or eye cannot be the karana as they are not the final cause. In logical analysis we see that it is the axe's peculiar contact with the tree that finally causes its felling, and the sense-object contact that finally reveals an object of visual perception. Scholars subscribing to this view may come forward to meet this objection with a modified definition of karana. It is that which causes the action denoted by the verb but not through the via-media of the operation (vyāpāra) belonging to a case (kāraka) other than itself (svabhinna).4 Thus neither the agent (cutter) nor the object (tree) causes the action directly in this specified sense. The cutter does so only by making the axe function well, while the tree by making the function of the axe possible (because without the tree, the axe cannot function upon). Only the axe has been directly (i.e., through its own operation) the cause of the tree's felling, and not through any via media. So it is karana, and thus the popular usages are justified.

But a flaw in this argument is not far to seek. The axe cannot be karana according to the above definition also. A relation is conditioned all alike by both the relata. The vijātīya contact between the axe and the tree is a relation which is also regarded as the operation (vyāpāra) under the present context and hence necessarily conditioned by the tree also. Thus the axe becomes the cause through the via-media of the operation (vyāpāra) belonging to a cause (e.g., the tree) other than itself. So such a definition of karana and along with it the attempt to include the axe, eye, etc. (popular examples of karana) under such definition become baffled, since according to this view the final cause immediately preceding the action is regarded as karana. In popular usage the axe is regarded as karana in a mere secondary sense, the

^{4.} See Karakacakra.

primary sense of karana being the final cause (kuthārādau karanapadam gaunam).5

The other school of thought (almost generally accepted by the Navya Naiyāyikas) overcomes the said difficulty by interpreting the notion of excellence or asadharanatva or uniqueness over causes in a slightly difficult way. Karana is that operating cause whose operation is directly effective, i.e., to say, immediately connected with the effect or Phala: Phalayogavyavacchinnavyaparavat karanatvam. Operation vyāpāra is technically defined as that which produces the final product, itself being produced by the operator or vyaparin in its turn (cf. tajjanyatve sati tajjanyajanakatva). It follows that karana causes the effect through its own operation or vyāpāra which intervenes between the effect and its karana. Thus there is no difficulty for axe or eye to be the karanas. The axe is vyāpāravat, its phalopadhāyakavyāpāra or directly effective operation being the vijātīya contact, with the object being its vyāpāra. Thus wellknown examples of karana are justified according to the present definition, while according to the previous definition the final cause (which is generally viewed as vyāpāra in the present definition) is the karana purely in its technical sense.

These two different theories are equally predominant among the scholars. The reason for their difference lies chiefly in their respective ideas of the excellence or efficiency (pradhanya or atisaya of karana as cause. One tries to justify the popular examples of karana like axe etc., while the other neglects popular uses as mere grammatical convention. There is another view, hinted at by Jayanta Bhatta, the author of Nyāya Mañjarī, which asserts that it is the samagrī (the sum-total of all causal conditions that should be regarded as the karana. No other causal condition but the 'whole cause' or sāmagrī deserves to be considered as the chief cause or supreme cause. Śāmagrī being present, product must follow. It follows from the very conception of samagri. Samagri, therefore, is the karana if karana be viewed as the chief cause. This view, of course, involves certain logical difficulties regarding the exact nature of samagri, pointed out by the

^{5.} See Kārkkacaatra.6. cf. Anumiti Didhitiṭlkā, Gādādharī.

Jain writer Prabhachandra in his *Prameyakamalamārtanda*. Other writers of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika school do not give much attention to this view of Jayanta which proves that it does not find favour with them. It is clear that according to this view, we are to conceive of an 'ideal cause', composed of all the causal conditions, positive or negative, remote or proximate, which may reasonably called 'the cause'. But whether the notion of karana can de jure be applicable to this, is a matter of different issue.

One thing is clear. The notion of karana has been taken from grammar, which in its turn follows the usage of the people in language. And peoples' use roughly crystallise the idea behind it. In logical analysis the 'final cause argument' may be thought the best; 'the Sāmagrī argument' may also gain some strength from an ideal view point. But 'the Vyūpāravat argument' or 'the axe argument' stands, in our opinion, certain crucial tests. Wellknown instances of karana are generally classed under the Nimittakāraņa or 'efficient cause'. (They can best known as 'extrinsic efficient'.) They importance in the production of an effect should not be under-estimated.

Let us consider certain typical cases of kāryas that generally require karana. Kāryas are technically defined as the counterpositives of prior absence (pragabhavapratiyogin) and as such they are either some dravya (cf. pot), or some guna (cf. Inana or knowledge), or some activity (cf. throwing a stone) when positively considered and a negation by destruction, i.e., posterior absence of a pot (ghatadhvamsa) when negatively considered. Take the case of a kārva-dravya, e.g., pot. Its material cause (asamavāvi-kārana) and along with it the so called non-inherent causes a samavayikārana) must be there, because the pot is a material substance. For its production again some sort of activity should be generated in its materials producing their final conjuction arambhaka-samyoga), which implies that a willing agent (who is a nimitta-kāraņa) must be there to give the starting push to these materials which are intrinsically without motion. (For our present discussion we leave aside the general nimittakāraņas like adrsta, God's will, etc.). All these follow from the general nature of the case under consideration but simply these are not sufficient for the production of

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the effect. What more is wanting? There must be karana along with its opearation. What I intend to stress upon is this: the very notion of production of a dravya, say X, necessarily implies that there must be materials along with its qualities as well as a producer, but not necessarily that instruments like rod, thread etc. along with their operations should be there. But without them the particular production will not follow. Therein lies the causal efficiency of instruments like rod etc, which are called the karanas. Similarly in the case of perceptual knowledge, a knower must be there (for knowledge as a quality must need the substances to inher into) and so also the object (for knowledge is always related to an object, and without a reference to object knowledge is meaningless). But is that all? No. What more is wanting is the sense organ—the karana (even manas may be included here). In a similar way comes the utility of the hand as the instrument in throwing a stone. Now the case of ghatadhvamsa by rod is also easy enough to explain. Dhvamsa is necessarily related to its Pratiyogin or counterpositive (i.e., pot), without which it is meaningless. So the presence of the pot, a nimittakārana, is explained. Again, the notion of dhvamsa implies an activity $(kriy\bar{a})$ generated into the parts of the pot resulting in their final disjunction (vibhāga) by destroying their ultimate productive conjunction (arambhaka-samyoga). This activity needs an active agent as before. But what more? The instrument rod has also to be utilised, and thus deserves the name Karana. This is the asadharanatva of karana as karana, and hence it is looked upon as kāraņa par excellence.

This discussion may be concluded with a popular illustration from ordinary life, which, by a distant analogy, may to a certain extent at least, clarify my foregoing argument. Suppose Mr. Q who was ill, gets recovered and finds four persons (A, B, C, D) responsible for this, who are to be thanked. Mr. A happens to be his father who calls the doctor, Mr. B happens to be his servant who prepares the medicine, Mr. C is the brother who administers the medicine, and Mr. D the Doctor. While going to thank he finds the first three related to him in some way or other. Their relations goads them on their respective duties. But Mr. D, not related to him, comes from outside. Thus he is the proper man to get thanks. So also our Karana gets thanks.

BHARTRHARI AND MIMAMSA

By

V. Swaminathan, Madras

Bhartrhari, one of the great thinkers of ancient India, could not be adequately appreciated by the research scholars of the last century owing to the fact that very little reliable information was available to them regarding his personality. The only source of any information about Bhartrhari was the travel accounts left by the Chinese pilgrim, I-tsing. Bhartrhari's date and position among the writers of ancient India are important in that he was closely interlinked with writers in many of the Sastras. The account given by I-tsing had, for long, formed the main foundation of reconstructing the chronology of the great Śāstra-kāras, Kumārila, Sankara and the like. The recent discoveries and publication of texts, particularly in Buddhistic and Jain literatures, have thrown much light on Bhartrhari. The foremost importance of the Vākvapadīya has now been fully realised and indeed it has become the subject of study by too many research scholars, if we may say so, today. But perhaps the most important work of Bhartrhari, the Mahābhāsyatīkā, had almost sunk into oblivion even among the traditional scholars. It would have remained to us a bare name but for its only fragmentary manuscript, so far known, preserved in the Berlin collection.1 From this work we are enabled to have a true picture of Bhartrhari's personality. In the light of these evidences, the prevailing opinion about Bhartrhari based on I-tsing's records, especially his date and faith, needs thorough revision and correction.

Bhartrhari is one of the outstanding writers of the earlier period who have influenced Indian thought. He is no doubt to be remembered as a great grammarian, but it would not be an exaggeration, considering the nature and extent of his contribution, to take him as a philosopher and a man of letters of the first rank.

^{1.} The present writer has prepared on edition of this work, with an Introduction and the same is under print now.

He appears to have been a man of wide culture, trained on orthodox lines and well read in all the existing systems of Indian philosophy. There are also passages in his Mahābhāṣyaṭīkā which bear evidence to his knowledge of the technical sciences such as medicine. In him we find a unique combination of knowledge in different śāstras. In this paper we propose to show this versatality of Bhartṛhari, by drawing attention to evidences of his deep and varied erudition found in the least known work of his, the Mahābhāṣyaṭīkā. Owing to the limitations of the present occasion, we will confine our attention to the Mīmāmsā in which especially Bhartṛhari's proficiency is seen prominently.

Of all the 'darsanas' the Mīmāmsā bears a close relation to Vyākarana in that it deals with the several topics which are common to Vyākarana also. Both the Mīmāmsakas and the Vaiyākaranas have accepted the eternality of s'abda. Both of them have dealt with the definition of sentence (vakya) at length. Both of them accept that the verb is the most important factor in the sentence. The Mīmāmsā even devotes a section called vyākaranādhikarana'a to discuss the validity of vyākarana as a pramāna on dhurma and it is significant that, according to Punyaraja2 Bhartrhari has devoted one section of the Prakīrnakānda for a treatment of the main topics of Mīmāmsā, which, however, had been lost once for all. Further the logical principles evolved, in the Mīmāmsā, to give a currect interpretation of the sacred texts might be intelligently employed in the interpretation of any authoritative text. Therefore there is scope for the writers on both the śāstras to borrow freely from or to refute the views of each other.

Bhart rhari's references to Mīmāmsā are too many to be covered here and we shall note a few striking instances. First let us refer to the Mīmāmsā doctrines which Bhart rhari mentions.

¹a. Mim. Sū. 1.3. 24-29; see also Tantravārtika and Śāstradīpikā.

^{2.} एतेषां च वितत्य सोपपत्तिकं सनिद्श्तं स्वरूपं पदकाण्डे लक्षणसमुद्देशे विनिर्दिष्टमिति प्रन्थकृतेन स्वरृतौ प्रतिपादितम्। आगमभंशाहिखक-प्रमादादिन। वा लक्षणसमुद्देशश्व पदकाण्डमध्ये न प्रसिद्धः।

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Agama which comprises *sruti* and *smṛti* is more powerful than any other *pramāṇa* and that which violates *sruti* and *smṛti* is apramāṇa. Even *smṛti* has to be discarded if it contradicts the *sruti*:

एवं तावदुक्तविरुद्धेयं स्मृतिः, श्रुतिश्चैनां नानुवद्ति, अतोऽप्यप्रमाणम् ।

Smṛti can be accepted as a pramāṇa only when it is possible to infer the existence of a sruti in support of it, without contradicting a wellknown sruti:

तत्रानुमानपक्षे स्मृति: नित्यं प्रमाणं भवति । किन्तु अदृष्टार्था स्मृतिरप्रमाणम् । When two *smṛtis* are in conflict with each other, one is at liberty to choose either of the two: ³

इयमपि स्मृतिः। यत्र च स्मृत्योर्विरोधः तत्र विकल्पः। न चेदन्यतराऽदृष्टार्था भवति।

The Mīmāmsakas regard that sound is eternal:

वेदविदां नित्यः अन्येषामनित्यः नित्या एवैते शब्दा गौरित्येवमादयः

The visible universe is eternal according to the Mīmāmsakas:

सिद्धा द्यौ: सिद्धा पृथिवी सिद्धमाकाशिमिति । आहैतानां मीमांसकानां च नैवास्ति विनाश एषाम् ।

While commenting on the Bhāṣya तावत्येवार्थमुपादाय शब्दान् प्रयुक्तते, where the eternality of śabda is discussed, Bhartrhari quotes the explanation of some commentators who identified the purport of this Bhāṣya with that of the Mīmāmsā sūtra I. 1.18 which declares that śabda is eternal:

अन्ये वर्णयन्ति—यत्तदुक्तं ''द्रशनस्य परार्थंत्वात् '' विप्रवृत्तत्वादिति तदेवानेन भाष्येणोक्तमिति ।

He has recorded a peculiar Mīmāmsaka view on the nature of dharma which is different from that of S'abara and his followers:

धर्मप्रयोजनो वेति मीमांसकद्शेनम् । अवस्थित एव धर्मः । स त्विप्तहोत्रादिभि-रभिव्यज्यते तत्त्ररितस्तु फलदो भवति यथा स्वामी मृत्यैः सेवायां प्रेर्यते ।

Also Somanātha on Śāstradīpikā, N. S. Edn., p. 48:

हमृत्योः परस्परविगानेऽपि विरुद्धश्रुतिद्वयानुमानसंभवेनोभयोरपि प्रामाण्यमुपप्यते ।

^{3.} Vide Tantravārtika, Banares Edn., 1903, p. 238 : विगानाद्धि विकल्प: स्यात् नैकत्राप्यप्रमाणता । etc.,

From this passage it is clear that Dharma is manifested by Agnihotra and similar rites, whereas S'abara and his followers contend that the rituals themselves constitute dharma. This passage is of paramount importance for a study of the evolution of the Mīmāmsā thought. With this short notice on the general philosophical doctrines of the Mīmāmsā, we now turn to the Mīmāmsā topics proper which Bhartrhari makes use of in the elucidation of the Mahābhāṣya.

The Bhasya mentions Uha as one of the provojanas of the study of Vyākaraņa. When the accessory details of the archetype or prakrtivaga are transferred to the derivative or vikrtivaga, it is necessary to modify the transferred details to suit the exigencies of the derivative and this process of modification is known as ūha in Mīmāmsā. Bhartrhari gives an elaborate treatment of ūha of which we shall give a brief account. Uha is of three kinds, viz., mantroha, gītyūha and itikartavyatoha; he disposes of the last two since they fall beyond the province of Vyākaraṇa. He mentions all the varieties of ūha, viz., alteration of the stem, alteration of gender, alteration of number etc. enumerated in the Mīmāmsā works, illustrating with profuse examples from Vedic texts. He refers to the rule that states that the words in the mantras should be in the same vrtti⁵ (significatory power of the word) as in the archetype; i.e. the word Agni in the mantra should not be taken to denote Surya in the vikṛti by its implicative power (lakṣaṇā) because in the prakṛti it conveys the sense of Agni by the expressive power (sakti) and so it is essential to substitute the word Sūrya in its place:

अथाप्यिनशब्द एवोपादीयेत मुख्या वृत्ति(:) सूर्यार्थं न प्रतिपादयेत् । अथाप्यस्य गुणादर्थान्तरे सूर्ये मुख्यवृत्तिव्यतिक्रमेण प्रयोग आश्रीयेत प्रकृतिविपरीत: शब्दप्रवृत्तिधर्म आश्रित: स्यात् etc.

He enumerates the instances which are exceptions to $\bar{u}ha$ and thus covers the entire subject-matter of the third and fourth sections of the Ninth chapter of Jaimini. He also gives a summary verse of the exceptional case of $\bar{u}ha$ as:

^{4.} Mahābhāṣya, N. S. Edn., p. 60.

^{5.} Vide Śāstradīpikā on Mīm, sū. IX. 3, 1-2.

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अङ्गानि ज्ञातिनामा(नि उपमा) चेन्द्रियाणि च। एतानि नोहं गच्छन्ति अद्धिगौ विषमं हि तत्॥

In this connection he raises the important question whether the Vedic sentences altered for the vikṛti, are to be regarded as mantras or not, which has been dealt with in the Mimāmsā works since it is a matter of consequence from the Vyākaraṇa view-point also. For example if the modified sentence is considered as a mantra the word अप्रभीषु: should be substituted and if not अप्रहीषु: in the place of अप्रभीष्टाम् in the mantra इन्ह्राजिनभ्यां छागेनायस्तां ते मेदस्तः प्रतिपन्ताप्रभीष्टाम् etc. Bhartṛhari says that some do not regard them as mantras whereas others do regard them as mantras. But Sabara, Kumārila and others do not regard them as mantras.

Arthavādas or declamatory Vedic sentences are of two kinds, commendatory (pravartaka) and deprecatory (nivartaka). The commendatory texts prompt one to action by eulogising that action and the deprecatory texts dissuade one from action by condemning that action. Arthavādas are to be construed together with the vidhis, injunctive texts, as vidhi and arthavāda syntactically form a single unit: तत्र विधिवाक्यशेषभूतत्वाद्धवादस्य विधिगेम्यते। Bhartrhari illustrates the two kinds of declamatory texts with suitable examples from the Vedic texts. He utilises the principles governing the arthavādas in giving the purport of certain passages in the Bhāṣya. For example, the sentence तेऽद्वरा हेल्यो हेल्य इति⁸ etc. is an arthavāda deprecating the usage of ungrammatical words:

अयम्भवादो म्लेच्छनस्य निवृत्त्यर्थ उपादीयते । अर्थवादस्तु प्रवर्तको निवर्तको वा । etc. Similarly the Bhāṣṇa बृहस्पितिरिन्द्राय etc. deprecates the study of isolated words: अर्थवादोऽयं प्रतिपद्पाठस्य निवृत्तये उपादीयते । The

^{6.} This verse has been quoted by Kumārila in the name of Bhartrhari. See Tantravārtika, Benaras Edn. p. 207. Also quoted by Helārāja in his commentary on the Vākyapadīya. See Vṛttisamuddeśa, T.S.S. Edn. Verse 590.

^{7.} cf. Mīm. Sū. II. 1. 34.

^{8.} Mahābhāsya, N. S. Edn., p. 26.

^{9.} *Ibid.*, p. 50.

Bhāṣya कूपखानकवदेतद्भविष्यति, 10 says that Bhartrhari praises the knowledge of correct words: अनेन च शब्दज्ञानस्योपस्तुति: कियते। In this context he also discusses whether the Vedic passage नावाक्शिर; र्येनचितिं चिन्वीत etc. is commendatory or deprecatory.

The Bhasya raises two alternatives with reference to the operation of the sūtra इको गुणवृद्धी (I. 1. 3). They are: (1) the sütra इको गुणबृद्धी may be construed with the sütra अलोडन्स्स (1. 1.52) to constitute one syntactical unit (ekavākyatā) or (2) it may be taken that both the sutras are separate units (nanavakyata) and supersedes इको गुणबृद्धी अलोऽन्त्यस्य। The natural objection that arises here is that both the alternatives, viz. syntactical unity and one rule superseding the other, are not possible because, in the first case, the two sutras are separated from each other by a number of other sutras, and in the second case, a rule that has had its operation cannot be superseded by another. Here Bhartrhari meets the objection and establishes the possibility of the two alternatives by recourse to Mīmāmsā. Syntactical unity is possible because of the three causes expectancy, congruity and proximity (ākānkṣā, yogyatā and āsatti) which give rise to verbal knowledge; proximity is discarded in cases where the words are not capable of yielding a correct sense. Here he quotes a half-verse to support the stand he has taken:

एवं ह्युच्यते-अर्थतो ह्यसमर्थानामानन्तर्थमकारणम् ।

This is a metrical representation of the mimāmsā aphorism आनन्तर्थमचोदना (Mīm. sū. III. 1.24) and might have been taken from some treatise on Mīmāmsā. Supersedence is the inference of the non-operation of that which is supposed to be superseded. Here the rule अलोडन्स्स, before its actual operation, should be first known to the student; and when it remains in the state of knowledge (sāstrabuddhi) in the student's mind it is superseded by operates. The non-operation of अलोडन्सस्य is inferred from the operation of इक्तो गुणबुद्धी।

^{10.} Ibid., p. 68.

In the sūtra faqia एकाजनाङ् (I. 1.14) Patañjali considers the word eka as superfluous, as the singular in 'ac' serves the purpose of eka.¹¹ Here Bhartrhari explains the Bhāsya in conformity with the Mīmāmsā principle which lays down that the number in the 'uddesya' (subject) is intended whereas the number in the vidheya is not taken in to account:¹²

उद्देश्यविशेषणं विवक्षितं विधेयविशेषणमविवक्षितम्।

In the sūtra 'ac' is the uddesya and the singular number in 'ac' is taken into account:

प्रगृह्यसंज्ञाया विधीयमानत्वात् संज्ञां प्रति गुणभूतमज्प्रहणं गुणभूतेषु च संख्या विविक्षिता भवति, तद्यथा पद्यना यजेतेति । ननु च संज्ञाया उपसर्जनत्वात् रूढसंबिन्धिषु संज्ञिष्वेव प्राधान्यम्, तत्र युक्तैवाविवक्षा संख्यायाः । सत्यम् । निर्देशे संज्ञिनां प्राधान्यं, विधीयमानत्वात् संज्ञायाः प्राधान्यं भवति ।

The Vārtikakāra raises the question why the indicatory letters (its) are not comprehended by the pratyāhāra 'ac' and adduces two causes for their non-inclusion, viz., आचार, the practice of the sūtrakāra and अप्रधानत्व, the subordinate character of the indicatory letters. Bhartrhari takes the two causes given by the Vārtikakāra as referring to the relation between the principal and the subordinate (seṣaseṣibhāva) and the relation between the motive and the motivated (prayojya-pryojaka-bhāva) which form the subject matter of the 3rd and 4th chapters of Jaimini. The letters अ, इ etc. are the principal factors (pradhāna) in the sūtra आदिरन्त्येन सहेता and so the अच्संज्ञा is ordained only with reference to them. In the same way, because the letters अ, इ etc. are the motives for the अच्संज्ञा, they alone are comprehended in the Pratyāhāra 'ac': इहाट्यन्बन्धानामप्रयोजकत्वात् शेषत्वाच अग्रहणमिति।

The sūtra क्लि च (I. 1.5) which prohibits guṇa and vṛdhi is non-pervasive (avyāpta) as it does not operate in cases like bhinna and in order to remove this defect in the sūtra the Vārtika-kāra proposes to introduce the word nimitta in the sūtra. Here the following objection might be raised in regard to the introduc-

^{11.} Mahābhāsya, N. S. Edn., pp. 247-48.

^{12.} Vide Śāstradīpikā, pp. 193-94 and 353-54, N.S. Edn.

tion of nimitta. If the word क्डिति is construed with गुणवृद्धी which is dragged from a previous sutra, i.e. इको गुणबृद्धी. the paribhāṣā तहिमन्निति निर्दिष्ट पूर्वस्य cannot operate because गुणवृद्धी enjoined in the former sutra is only restated (anuvāda) here and therefore even in words like bhinna, where the vowel which gets guna is screened from the suffix which have the indicatory letters क and इ is prevented. Thus the scope of the sutra might be extended and the inclusion of the word nimitta becomes superfluous. Bhartrhari refutes this objection by making use of the Mīmāmsā principles connected with the Sarvasvāra sacrifice. The Sarvasyara sacrifice is recommended to one who is desirous of attaining heaven through death:

मरणकामो ह्येतेन यजेत यः कामयेतानामयः स्वर्गमियामिति । 13

Here heaven is the principal fruit for the attainment of which the sacrifice is prescribed and death is only a means for the achievement of the principal fruit. If the sacrificer dies in the midst of the sacrifice the appointed priests (rtviks) must continue and finish the sacrifice, for the sacrifice is intended for the attainment of the principal fruit, viz., heaven; they should not leave it at the death of the sacrificer, for death is not the fruit aspired for. The prevention (pratisedha) of guna and vrddhi is the main object of the sūtra and therefore विङ्ति must be construed only with नञ् and not with gunavrddhi which holds only a secondary position:

नतु च गुणवृद्धिविशेषणे व्यवहितानन्तरेषु प्रवर्तमानो महाविषय: कृतो भवतीति । एतच न । शुनस्कर्णस्तोमयज्ञवदेतत् स्यात्, यथा प्रधानस्य मरणेनार्थिन इज्यां प्रवर्तयन्ते ।

Pārthasārathi Miśra quotes in his Śāstradīpikā the last line of this passage in the name of Bhartrhari, as an authority to support his stand.14 It is very difficult to settle whether Parthasarathi is quoting from the Bhāṣyaṭīkā or from some other Mīmāmsā work written by Bhartrhari.

14. Vide Sāstradīpikā, N. S. Edn., p. 673.

^{13.} Quoted in Śābura Bhāṣya on Mīm. sū., X. 2.56.

In the sūtra आयन्तो टिक्तों (I. 1.46) Patañjali maintains that the respective order of the augments cannot be determined and for that purpose the यथासंख्यशास्त्र or the rule relating to the 'respective order' is indispensable. On this Bhartrhari remarks that this 'respective order' is peculiar to Vyākaraṇa as it is not known either in the world or in other s'āstras. Here he introduces the following kārikā which enumerates the various orders of sequence found in the other śāstras:

(क)मश्च नियम्यते-

श्रुतेरथीच पाठाच प्रवृत्तेश्व मनीषिण: । स्थानानमुख्याच धर्माणामाहु: क्रमविद: क्रमान् ।

Some of these methods of ascertaining the order are explained with suitable illustrations from the Vedic and Smrti texts. This $k\bar{a}rik\bar{a}$ is a metrical presentation of the six orders of sequence spoken of in $m\bar{a}m\bar{a}ms\bar{a}$ and is an epitome of the first fifteen sūtras of the 5th chapter of Jaimini. This $k\bar{a}rik\bar{a}$ might be Bhartrhari's own composition taken from some work of his on $M\bar{a}m\bar{a}ms\bar{a}$ lost to us, as he has not introduced it with such words as $\bar{a}\bar{b}$ which he invariably employs while quoting others.

In this manner Bhartrhari utilises several other Mimāmsā principles in interpreting the Mahābhāṣya. These references to Mīmāmsā are collected at random and only from the available fragment of the Bhāṣyaṭīkā, and it is obvious that if we have the entire Bhāṣyaṭīkā a greater wealth of references showing the extensive knowledge of Bhartrhari would be available to us. These references, besides showing us Bhartrhari's deep knowledge of Mīmāmsā, indirectly proves that he was a great authority and a writer too in the Mīmāmsā s'āstra.

^{15.} Mahābhāsya, N. S. Edn., p. 360.

TATPARYA AS A SEPARATE VETTI

By

Dr. K. Kunjunni Raja, Madras

The importance of the speaker's intention or tatparya as a factor in deciding the meaning of a sentence is generally accepted by all schools of thought in India; but there is no unanimity of opinion regarding the exact role played by the speaker's intention in verbal comprehension. The term tātparya itself is used in different ways by the various schools of thought: To the Naiyāyikas tatparya is the intention of the speaker; like Sir A. Gardiner? they held that "the meaning of a sentence is what the speaker intends to be understood from it by the listener." Some of them go to the extent of saying that it is the intention of the speaker that fixes the meanings of even ordinary words, since otherwise the words could through implication or laksanā indicate some other meanings.3 Here it must be stated, as rightly pointed out by F. W. Thomas' that "the speaker's meaning and the normal signification have to be clearly distinguished; linguistic discourse is impossible without assuming normal signification for words independently of the intention of the speaker." The Mīmāmsakas and the Advaita Vedantins use the term tātparya for the purport of the sentence conveyed by the capacity of the words themselves. In the case of equivocal expressions the meaning is restricted to one of the senses, in the absence of the speaker's intention to convey the other sense also.5

- 1. Siddhanta muktavalī, Śabda Section: वक्तुरिच्छा तु तात्पर्यम् ।
- 'The Definition of the Word and the Sentence', British Journal of Psychology, XII, p. 361.
- 3. Nyāyakośa,p. 327:
 परे तु घटादिपदस्थलेऽपि घटपदं कुम्भपरं लक्षणया पटपरं वेति संशये घटशब्दबोधाभावात् सर्वत्र तात्पर्यनिश्वयः कारणिमत्याहुः ।
- 4. 'Parts of speech', Transactions of the Philological Society, London, 1949, p. 130n.
- 5. See Vedāntaparibhāṣā, IV where in the definition of tātparya the qualification तदन्यप्रतीतीच्छयानुचरितत्वं is added to तत्प्रतीतिजनन-योग्यत्वम् ।

Even among the Naiyayikas there is much difference of opinion regarding the importance of the speaker's intention as a factor in the understanding of the meaning of a passage. Some of them believe that the speaker's intention need not be treated as a separate condition of verbal comprehension, since it could be included under ākānkṣā itself, for according to them ākānkṣā is to be taken as the need one word has for another in order to convey the intended meaning of the speaker. According to some others the knowledge of the meaning intended by the speaker is essential for verbal comprehension only in cases of equivocal terms and ambiguous expressions.8 Ganges'opadhyaya Vis'vanātha Nyāyapancānana hold that a knowledge of tātparya is the fourth requisite along with ākānkṣā, yogyatā and sannidhi for verbal comprehension. Some others consider that tatparya is an all-embracing factor and that it has an important part to play in the working of the first three factors.10

The speaker's intention has an important role in the verbal comprehension of the syntactic relationship among the various words in a sentence. The Mīmāmsakas and the Naiyāyikas who take the sentence to be a concatenation of the individual words that comprise it have to oxplain how a connected meaning is comprehended from a sentence. It is clear that according to the Association Theory adopted by these schools the sentence expresses something over and above the meanings of the words in the sentence. A string of unconnected, isolated word-

^{6.} Nyāyakośa, p. 326; S. Kuppuswami Sastri, A Primer of Indian Logic, p. 335.

^{7.} Tarkadīpa quoted in Nyāyakośa, p. 338: अन्ये तु आका ङ्क्षाघटकतयैव तात्पर्यदानं हेतु:, न तु स्वातन्त्रयेणेत्याहु: |

^{8.} Nyāyakośa, p. 327: केचित्तु सैन्धवमानयेत्यादौ नानार्थस्थल एव तात्पर्यसंशयादेः संभवेन तत्रत्यशाब्दबोध एव तात्पर्यनिश्वयो हेतु:...इत्याहु: I See also Siddhāntamuktāvalī, Sabda Section.

^{9.} Ibid. Also Vidyabhushana, A History of Indian Logic, I, p. 448.

^{10.} Siddhāntamuktāvalī, IV. तात्पर्यगर्भा चासत्ति: ! See also Athalye's notes on Tarkasangraha. p. 343: "Perhaps the speaker's intention may be included in the second requisite, Yogyatā."

meanings cannot produce a unified sense. We may say that there are two elements in a sentence-meaning: the meanings of the individual words and the mutual connection of these. We know that the words give their own individual meanings; the problem is to find out where the element of the relationship among the word-meanings comes. The whole is something more than the sum of the parts. The Association theory cannot satisfactorily explain where the additional element comes from. That is why the Gestalt psychologists refer to the Association theory as a 'brick and mortar psychology which explains only where the bricks come from but not where the mortar comes from.'

Among the many theories brought forward to solve this problem the Anvitabhidhanavada of the Prabhakara Mimamsakas and the Abhihitanvayavada propounded by the Bhatta Mimamsakas are the most important. According to the former the words themselves, by their primary significative power abhidha, convey both the wordmeanings and their mutual connection; while according to the latter the words convey only their individual word-meanings, the mutual relation is conveyed not by the words directly, but by the word-meanings. The Prabhakaras do not deny the existence of individual words and their isolated meanings; they only assert that it is impossible to comprehend the isolated meanings of a word apart from its relation in a sentence.11 Words certainly recall their senses, separately; but they do not stop with that. Even though the listener knows the general meaning of the words, his experience tells him that words are meaningful only when they are connected in a sentence. The words themselves convey their own meanings, but only as related to another on the strength of the three well known factors,

^{11.} See Sālikanātha's commentary on the Bṛhatī passage वाक्यार्थेन व्यवहार: (p. 188): "The word alone by itself never expresses any meaning; it is only the sentence that does it, as is clear from the fact that we learn the meaning of verbal expressions only from the usage of older people and this usage is only in the form of sentences and every single word is understood only in so far as it is related to the other words in a sentence; hence it is established that what is expressive of the meaning is the sentence only, not any word alone by itself." (Ganganath Jha, Pūrvamīmāmsā in its Sources, p. 137).

ākānkṣā, yogyatā and sannidhi. The words convey not only their individual meanings, but also their syntactic relation. Thus the sentence-meaning which is only the syntactically connected word-meanings is directly conveyed by the words themselves. Abhinavagupta refers to this theory as the Dīrghavyā-pāravāda, since according to the Anvitābhidhāna theory there is no limit to the extent of the meaning that an expression can convey. Just as the range of an arrow is not limited, but varies with the difference in the power with which it is discharged, so also the range of abhidhā or the expressive power can be extended further and further. Not only the word-meanings, but also the syntactic relation is conveyed by the function of abhidhā.

Kumārilabhatta, who advocates the Abhihitānvaya theory of verbal comprehension says that the meaning of a sentence is always conveyed by the meanings of words got from the words themselves. Unlike the words the sentence does not have a

12. S'ālikanātha, Vākyārthamātṛkā, p. 5:
आकाड्कासिनिधिप्राप्तयोग्यार्थान्तरसंगतान् ।
स्वार्थानाहु: पदानीति व्युत्पत्ति: संश्रिता मया ॥

- 13. Locana (Benares edition), p. 18 f. योऽप्यन्विताभिधानवादी यत्पर: शब्द: स शब्दार्थ: इति हृदये गृहीत्वा शरवदिभधाव्यापारमेव दीर्घदीर्घिमेच्छन्ति...; p. 234: प्राभाकरदर्शनेऽपि दीर्घदीर्घी व्यापार: |
 - Abhinavagupta here states explicitly that this is the Anvitābhidhāna theory of the Prābhākaras. Govinda Thakkura in the Pradīpa commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa refers to it as the view of the Bhāṭṭas; following this Jhalkikar also referred to it as the view of Bhāṭṭas; matopajīvinaḥ (Subodhinī commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa). Dr. S. K. De pointed out the mistake in the second volume of his History of Sanskrit Poetics; still this error has crept even into the work of Prof. P. V. Kane. In his notes on Sāhityadarpaṇa he refers to this theory as that "of some followers of Kumārila" (p. 64). Dr. Raghavan has correctly stated the school advocating this theory; see his Bhoja's Sringāra Prakāśa, I. p. 150.
 - 14. Sabara seems to support this theory when he says in the Bhāṣya on Mimāmsā Sūtra. II.17. पदानि स्वं स्वमध्मभिधाय निवृत्तव्यापाराणि । अथेदानीं पदार्थाः अवगताः सन्तः नाक्यार्थं गमयन्ति । (In a sentence the words express their individual meanings and stop with it; the meanings of words thus known indicate the meaning of the sentence). Salikanātha's statement, op. cit., p. 22: अर्थशब्देन माध्यकारोऽन्वयमाइ seems to be rather strained.

meaning of its own independently. "The meaning of the words are expressed by the words independently of one another; from the connection among these word-meanings the meaning of the sentence is also understood". The three factors ākānkṣā, yogyatā and sannidhi constituted the grounds of relationship. It may be noted that this theory is only a development of the theory advocated by Vājapyāyana that the meaning of a sentence is the sansarga or the mutual association of the individual word-meanings expressed by the words. It

Among the Alankarikas it is Abhinavagupta who for the first time refers to Tātparya as a separate vṛtti or function of words accepted by the Abhihitānvaya theory of verbal comprehension to explain the syntactic unity of a sentence. Abhinavagupta speaks of four distinct functions of words, abhidhā, tātparya, lakṣaṇā and vyañjanā, and arranges them under four separate classes: 18 abhidhā is the power of the words to signify the primary meaning; this primary meaning refers only to the universal and not to the particular. In a sentence the individual words by their primary

- 15. Tantravārtika, p. 446: पृथगभूतै रेव पदै: इतरेतरनिरपेक्षे: स्वेषु पदार्थेषूकेषु तत्संसगिदिव पदन्यापारानपेक्षो वाक्यार्थप्रस्ययो भवति ।
- 16. Ibid p. 445: आकाङ्क्षा सिन्नधानं च योग्यता चेति च त्रयम्। सम्बन्धकारणत्वेन क्लुप्तं नानन्तरश्रृति:॥
- 17. Helārāja in his commentary on Vākyapadīya, III, stanza 5 : जातिवादिनो वाजप्यायनस्य मते तु संसर्गी वाक्यार्थः सामान्यं संश्लेषमात्र-रूपत्वात् वाक्यार्थस्य । Kumārilabhaṭṭa says (op. cit., p. 447) :

संसर्गोऽपि पदार्थानामन्योन्येनानुरज्जनम् । गोत्वे शुक्रत्वसंसर्गः शुक्रत्वे वा गोत्वसंसर्गः ।

See also Mahābhāṣya, I, p. 361; Puṇyarāja on Vākyapadīya, II. 155; Pārthasārathi Miśra on Ślokavārttika-ṭīkā, p. 854; M. Hiriyanna, 'Vyāḍi and Vājapyāyana' IHQ, XIV, p. 261 f. etc.

18. Locana, while commenting on verse भन धम्मिअ...:—

''त्रयो ह्यत्र व्यापाराः संवेद्यन्ते पदार्थेषु सामान्यात्मसु अभिधाव्यापारः, समयापेक्षया अर्थावगमनशक्तिर्द्यभिधा । समयश्च तावत्येव न विशेषांशे, आनन्त्याद् व्यमिचाराचेकस्य । ततो विशेषरूपे वाक्यार्थे तात्पर्यशक्तिः परस्परान्विते, 'सामान्यान्यथासिद्धेविक्यार्थं गमयन्ति हि १ इति न्यायात् । भक्तिहि लक्षणाव्यापारः तृतीयकक्ष्यानिवेशी । चतुथ्या तु कक्ष्यायां ध्वननव्यापारः ।

function of abhidha refer only to the isolated word meanings. The syntactic relation of these is conveyed by the talparyasakti of the words. The intention of the speaker, or the general purport of the utterance is obviously to give a unified purposeful sentencemeaning. Hence the words are considered to have a power to convey the syntactic relation among the various isolated wordmeanings. This power is called tātparyasakti. Laksanā is the third power recognised according to this theory; it is accepted only when the primary meanings cannot be syntactically connected to give a meaning.19 Abhinavagupta says that even according to this theory vyanjana or suggestion will have to be accepted as the fourth function of words.

It may be noted here that even though Anandavardhana refers to the importance of the speaker's intention in conveying the meaning of a passage, he never refers to tatparya as a separate vrtti or sakti of words: in fact he says that in linguistic discourse there are only three functions or powers of words to be accepted, the primary, secondary and the suggestive.20

Among the Alankarikas Bhoja has a unique way of treating tātparya.21 Used in the general sense of total meaning, Bhoja's tatparya is divided into three types, expressed, implied and suggested (Vācya, Pratīyamāna and Dhvanirūpa). In a restricted sense the term is used as equivalent to the intended meaning or suggestion. These have nothing to do with the conveying of the syntactic relation of word-meanings. Regarding that Bhoja accepts the position of the Anubhayavādins who reject both the Abhihitanvaya and the Anvitabhidhana theories and prefer a third view according to which words convey the sentence-meaning by their cumulative effect or Samhatyakāritā. 22 This, we may note, is

^{19. 1}bid. "मुख्यार्थवाधायां लक्षणायाः प्रक्रप्तिः, बाधा च विरोधप्रतीतिरेव ।

^{20.} Benaras edition, p. 429: तदेवं शाब्दे व्यवहारे त्रयः प्रकाराः वाचकत्वं गुणवृत्ति व्यज्जकत्वं च । तत्र व्यज्जकत्वे यदा व्यज्जवप्राधान्यं तदा ध्वनिः ।

^{21.} Dr. V. Raghavan, Bhoja's Śringāra Prakāśa, p. 18.

^{22.} Ibid. p. 21: अनुभयवादिन: पुनिरित्थं समर्थयन्ते---नान्विताभिधानं न चाभिहितान्वयः। किं तर्हि ? समुदितैः पदैः एको वाक्यार्थः प्रत्याप्यते । नेदमन्विताभि-धानं, किं तर्हि संहत्यकारिता पदानामुच्यते । (P. 126 of MS) quoted in the revised edition of Dr. Raghavan's book.

what the Naiyāyika scholar Jayanta advocates in the Nyāyamañjarī, where he attributes this cumulative effect or Samhatyakāritā to the tātparyasakti of words.²³

Later Dhanika, the commentator on Dhanañjaya's Dasarūpaka advocates the theory that Dhvani is included in tātparya.²⁴ He says that it is not necessary to recognize a new function called Dhvani and refutes the Ghaṭapradīpa-nyāya advocated by Ānandavardhana to explain the relationship between the expressed and the suggested meanings, since the two senses are not entirely different as the pot and the lamp. The relation between Kāvya and Rasa is one of Vācyavācaka or Lakṣyalakṣaka. Dhanika says that there is no limitation of the term tātparya to the expressed sense; "it can cover the whole range of the speaker's intention and cover all implications coming up in the train of the expressed sense."²⁵

It may be noted that Dhanika's criticism is pointed to the statement of Anandavardhana in the third Uddyota of Dhvanyāloka referring to the view that the relation between the expressed sense and the suggested sense is the relation between the word-meaning and the sentence-meaning; Anandavardhana refutes that view by saying that in the former case the relation is like that of the lamp and the object illuminated, while in the latter case it is like that of the pot and the mud with which it is made; the light shines itself while illuminating other objects; so also the suggestion of ideas is not by suppressing the expressed meaning.²⁶

- 23. Nyāyamañjarī, p. 353.
- Dr. V. Raghavan, op. cit., p. 155; Dhanika, Avaloka on Daśarūpaka,
 p. 121.
- 25. Ibid. Dhanika says :—
 एतावत्येव विश्वान्तिस्तात्पर्यस्येति किं कृतम् ।
 यावस्कार्यप्रसारित्वात् तात्पर्यं न तुलाधृतम् ॥
- 26. Dhvanyāloka, III, p. 190: न च पदार्थवाक्यार्थन्यायो वाच्यव्यङ्गययोः।
 तैः वाक्यार्थपदार्थयोः घटतदुपादानन्यायोऽभ्युपगन्तव्यः।
 वाक्ये तदर्थे वा निष्पन्ने पदतदर्थानां न पृथगुपलम्भः। न हि व्यङ्गये
 प्रतीयमाने वाच्यार्थबुद्धिदूरीभवति । घटप्रतीपन्यायस्तयोः।

Following Abhinavagupta, later Alankarikas like Mammata and Viśvanātha have referred to the tatparyavrtti as a separate function for conveying the syntactic relationship among the various word-meanings according to the Abhihitanvaya theory. In the Kāvyaprakāsa there are references to tātparya as a separate vrtti21 and Mammata has also explained its function in the second ullasa of the text.28

Viśvanātha in the Sāhityadarpaņa repeats the same idea and refers to the tatparyavrtti as being accepted by the Abhihitanvaya theory of verbal comprehension.29 He further states that it is the sentence as a whole that conveys the tatparyartha or the sentencemeaning, and so the power of tatparya must rest with the sentence as a whole. Many of the later Alankarikas have also referred to this function of tātparya, mainly on the basis of the statements of Abhinavagupta and Mammata.30

It is well known that the Bhātta Mīmāmsakas who followed Kumārila Bhatta are staunch supporters of the Abhihitanvaya theory of verbal comprehension; as a result of this whenever the term is found there is a tendency among commentators to associate it exclusively with the Bhāṭṭa school, without waiting to enquire whether the theory explained is the same as that adopted by the Bhattas. Some of the ancient commentators, and modern

तात्पर्याख्यां वृत्तिमाहुः पदार्थान्वयबोधने । तात्पर्यार्थं तद्रथं च वाक्यं तद्वोधकं परे ॥

अभिधाया: एकैकपदार्थवोधनविरमाद् वाक्यार्थरूपस्य बोधिका तात्पर्थं नाम वृत्तिः । तद्र्थेश्व तात्पर्यार्थः । तद्वोधकं च वाक्यमित्यभिहितान्वयवादिनां मतम् । 30. Vidyānātha's Pratāparudrīya with Kumārasvāmin's commentary.

^{27.} Kāvyaprakāsa, II. 31: तटादी ये विशेषा: पावनत्वादयस्ते चाभिधातात्पर्य-ळक्षणात्मकव्यापारत्रयातिवर्ती ध्वननादिपर्यायोऽनपह्नवनीय एव ।

^{28.} Ib., II. 6: 'तालयथिंऽपि केषुचित्।' आकाङ्क्षासन्निधियोग्यतावशाद् वक्ष्यमाणस्वरूपाणां पदार्थानां परस्परसमन्वये तात्पर्यार्थी रपदाथोऽपि वाक्यार्थः समुष्ठसतीत्यभिहितान्वयवादिनां मतम्।

^{29.} Sāhityadarpaņa: II. 20:

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scholars following them, have thus associated tātparyavṛtti with the Bhāṭṭa school of Mīmāṃsā.31

But there is one difficulty in such an assumption which many of the scholars have not noticed. All the great authoritative writers on Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṃsā like Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, Pārthasārathimiśra, Vācaspatimiśra, Cidānanda and Nārāyāṇabhaṭṭa have unequivocally stated that according to the abhihitānvaya theory advocated by them the syntactically unified sentence-meaning is to be conveyed through the secondary power, lakṣaṇā. ^{31a} Even

- 31. (a) Commentary on Kāvyaprakāsa (II. 6) by: Māṇikyacandra: केषुचित् अभिहितान्वयभट्टेष्वित्यर्थ: ।
 - (b) Same by Govinda Thakkura: केषुचित् न्यायादिनयेषु, न तुं मीमांसकमतेषु; on this, the subcommentary of Nagesa says: आदिना भादमीमांसका:.....मीमांसकमतेषु प्राभाकरमतेष्वत्थर्थ: ।
 - (c) Same by Jhalkikar (Subodhini):
 अभिहितान्वयव।दिनां भाद्यभीमांसकानामित्यर्थ: ।
 - (d) P. V. Kane, Sāhityadarpaṇa, Notes, p. 86; "This view is held by that school of Pūrvamīmāmsā which is called Abhihitā-nvayavādins."
 - (e) K. C. Pandey, Comparative Aesthetics, I. p. 217: "The followers of the Nyāya philosophy and the Bhāṭṭa mimāmsakas maintain the additional power of the words, namely tātparyaśakti.
 - (f) S. S. Suktankar, Kāvyaprakāśa, Notes p. 36. "acknowledged by some mīmāmsaka authorities to whom there is a separate vrtti called tātparya."
- 31-a. (a) Pārthasārathi Miśra, Nyāyaratnamālā (GOS), p. 125: पद्स्वरूपाभिद्वितै: पदार्थै: संलक्ष्यतेऽसाविति सिद्धमेतत्।
 - (b) Sāstradīpikā p. 154; पदाभिहितै: पदार्थै: लक्षणया वाक्यार्थ: प्रतिपाद्यते ।
 - (c) Vācaspatimiśra, Tattvabindu: लभ्यते च समिभव्याहारान्यथानुपपत्त्या पदानामन्वितार्थपराणां स्वाभिधेयार्थभूतसमवेतान्वितावस्थाप्रत्यायनं लक्षणया।
 - (d) Kumārilabhaṭṭa quoted in Tattvabindu (and Vākyārthamātṛkāvrtti) वाक्यार्थी लक्ष्यमाणी हि सर्वत्रैवेति न: स्थिति:।
 - (e) Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa Mānameyodaya (Śabda): वर्य तु पदार्था लक्षणयैव वाक्यार्थ बोधयन्तीत्साहु: |
 - (i) Tattvapradīpikā (p. 154. Nirnayasagar ed.): पदानि लक्षणया पदार्थानी अन्योन्यान्वयप्रतिपत्तिपराणि ।

critics like Salikanatha who tried to refute this theory have described it in that way. 22 Nārāyanabhatta says that tātparya is not a separate factor in conveying the syntactic relationship of the word-meanings.33

It may be pointed out here that Jayantabhatta, the great Naiyāyika scholar of the tenth century A. D. who wrote the Nyāyamañjarī, was the first to bring forward the theory about tātparya being a separate vriti. The Abhihitanvaya theory is not the monopoly of the Bhatta Mimamsakas; we have seen that the Association theory of the grammarian Vajapyayana, that samsarga is vākyārtha, is a kind of Abhihitānvaya theory.34 Bhartrhari has also referred to such views. 25 Early Naiyāyikas like Gautama and Vatsyayana have not discussed the problem of the sentence; they discussed only about the exact import of the words. Jayanta says that their silence is eloquent and shows that they believed that the sentence is only a collection of words, and that the sentencemeaning is only the mutual association of the word-meanings.36

- 32. (a) Salikanatha, Vākyārthamātrkāvrtti: वार्तिककारस्तु लाक्षणिकान् सर्ववाक्यार्थानिच्छन्तः पदार्थानां अन्वयाववोधशक्तिकल्पनां निराकुर्वन् अन्वितावस्थो हि पदार्थोऽभिहितोऽन्वितावस्थां स्वसम्बन्धिनीं लक्षयित ।
 - (b) Vardhamāna, Commentary on Nyāyakusumānjali (Ch. S. S.), III, p. 76: नन्वन्वये पदानां तात्पर्यं तिश्चविह्का च वृत्ति: । न च स्वार्थसम्बन्धिनि स्वान्वये तात्पयि छक्षिणा अन्वयविरोषणतया पदार्थीपस्थितेश्व न वृत्तिद्वयिवरोध इति वाच्यम्। Jayantabhatta, however, does not refer to the lakṣaṇā in this context.
- 33. Mānameyodaya, IV. 12: तस्माद्न्वयसिद्धौ तात्पर्यं न कचित् स्वयं हेतु: ।
- 35. Vākyapadīya, II. 41-21:

केवलेन पदेनार्थी यावानेवाभिधीयते । वाक्यस्थं तावतोऽर्थस्य तदाहुरभिधायकम् ॥ सम्बन्धे सति यत्त्वन्यदाधिक्यमुपजायते । षाक्यार्थमेव तं प्राहुरनेकपदसंश्रयम् ॥

36. Nyāyamzñjarī (KSS edn.), p. 333: वाक्यार्थस्तु न कचिद्पि सूत्रकार-भाष्यकाराभ्यां सूचित इति चेत् ...यद्यं पृथकपदेभ्यो न वाक्यार्थमुपदिशन्ति स्म, तस्मादयमस्याशयः पदार्थे एव वाक्यार्थ इति ।

After discussing in detail the various theories about verbal comprehension held by various schools, Jayanta advocates a modified form of abhihitānvaya theory. The words express their isolated word-meanings by the power of abhihitā; they have another power, the tātparyasakti, which indicates the mutual relationship among the word-meanings. The function of this power is to reveal the meanings of the words contained in a sentence as being mutually related. This power is the common effect belonging to all the words, and lasts till the independent judgment is produced. The service of the words are the common effect belonging to all the words, and lasts till the independent judgment is produced.

It may be noted that this $t\bar{a}tparyasakti$ is the same as the samsargamary $\bar{a}d\bar{a}$ accepted by the later Navya Nyāya school. "The additional element conveyed by a sentence, over and above the separate concepts conveyed by separate words, is the intended relation of the concepts, and this additional element, which is the distinctive feature of verbal judgment ($v\bar{a}ky\bar{a}rtha$) is conveyed through the particular juxtaposition of words (samsargamary $\bar{a}d\bar{a}$) and not through a primary or secondary significative power of words. 40

What prompted Abhinavagupta to accept Jayanta's modified form of Abhihitānvaya theory and not that of the real followers of the Bhāṭṭa school seems to be the fact that the Ālankārikas of the Dhvani school could not accept lakṣaṇā to explain the syntactic relation among the word meanings, since they accepted it only in cases of anvayānupapatti and not in cases of tātparyānupapatti.

Some of the discerning commentators of the Alankara texts have already pointed out that the view about tatparyavrtti being

37. He does not call it Abhihitanvayavada.

38. Nyāyamañjarī, p. 371 f : पदान्यन्वयं प्रत्याययन्ति, नान्वितमभिद्धति, नाभिधात्री शक्तिरन्वयविषया, किं त्वन्वयव्यतिरेकावगतनिष्कृष्टस्वार्थविषयैव, तात्पर्थशक्तिस्तु तेषां अन्वितावगमपर्यन्ता ।...

अभिधात्री मता शक्तिः पदानां स्वार्थिनिष्ठता । तेषां तात्पर्यशक्तिस्तु संसगिवगमावधिः ॥

- 39. Gadādhara's Vyutpattivāda: शाब्दबोधे चैकपदार्थेऽपरपदार्थसंसर्ग: संसर्ग-मर्यादया भासते ।
- 40. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, A Primer of Indian Logic, p. 258.

responsible for conveying the syntactic relation of the word-meaning does not refer to the Bhāṭṭa Mīmāmsaka theory, but only to that of the ancient Naiyāyikas who were also Abhihitānvaya-vādins.⁴¹ In the Sudhāsāgara commentary on the Kāvyaprakāsa Bhīmasena Dīkṣita explains this point in detail. He says ⁴² that for all practical purposes this tātparyavṛtti may be identified with the Lakṣaṇā of the Mīmāṃsakas, and that it is the same as the samsargamaryādā of the later Navya Nyāya school.⁴³

- 41. (a) Govinda Thakkura, Pradipa (loc. cit.): न्यायादिनयेषु, न तु मीमांसकादिष्वपि | Nāgeśa twists the meaning of this passage in his subcommentary. See note (31 b).
 - (b) Haridāsa Siddhānta Vāgiša, Commentary on Sāhityadarpaņa 2.31: परे प्राञ्चो नैयायिका: । अत एव प्राचीननैयायिका: अभिहितान्वयवादिन: । नन्यास्तु इममेव तात्पर्यवृत्तिं संसर्गमर्यादामाचक्षते ।
 - (c) Rāmacandra Tarkavāgīśa, Commentary on Sāhityadarpaņa(2.31): अभिहितानां अभिधया लक्षणया वा पदोपस्थापितानां अन्वयवोधवादिनां प्राचीननैयायिकानां मतम्।
 - (d) Nyāyakośa, p. 720: वाक्यार्थवोधे तु तात्पर्याख्यां वृत्तिमङ्गीचकुस्ता-किंका: 1...अभिहितान्वयवादिन: |
- 42. Bhimasena Dikṣita, Sudhāsāgara Commentary on Kāvyaprakāśa II.
 7: 6.44 f: केषुचित् न्यायादिनयेषु, न तु मीमांसकमतेष्विप ।...तात्पर्यस्य यित्तं तज्ज्ञानस्वेन प्रयोजकत्वाच्छ्रब्दसम्बन्धित्वाच्यक्षतम् ।...अन्वये लक्षणिति भाद्रमतमि तात्पर्यस्येव नामान्तरलक्षणस्वेन नेयम् । न तु प्राचीनलक्षणा मुख्यार्थावाधात्.....केचित्तु—' वस्तुतस्तु पदार्थशक्तत्वेन ज्ञातं पदमेव स्वार्थ-स्मरणद्वाराऽकाङ्क्षादिसाचिव्यात् समभिव्याहृतपदार्थेन सह स्वार्थान्वयं बोधयति । तथैव कार्यकारणकल्पनादिति किमनया तात्पर्यवत्या । इयमेव संसर्ग-मर्यादेति घुष्यते ' इत्याहुः ।
- 43. Of. Dr. Gaurinath Sastri, The Philosophy of Word and Meaning, p. 220: "It is absolutely certain that Mammata has misrepresented the theory of Kumārila which is called Abhihitānvayavāda. Unforthe theory of Abhihitānvayavāda. This error has persisted in all the subsequent writings of the Ālaṃkārikas. It is painful to remark that this celebrated authority on poetics did not have direct access to the work of Kumārila." The Abhihitānvaya Ālamkārikas has said that it is the Bhāṭṭa school, and none of the great

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The distinction between laksanā and tātparya in this case is very subtle. Speech is purposive in nature. Mere juxtaposition of isolated words giving out a string of unconnected separate concepts, is of no use in linguistic discourse. It is certain that the co-utterance of words is with the intention of conveying a connected unified meaning.44 It is this apparent contradiction between the juxtaposition of words in a sentence and their not being related to serve some purpose, that gives the power to the words to laksanā through a process of Arthāpatti type of inference, and convey the syntactically related sentence-meaning. speaker's intention, taken in a general sense, is at the back of resorting to laksanā. According to the Prābhākaras, on the other hand, the tatparya makes the primary significatory power itself capable of conveying not only the individual word meanings, but their mutual connection as well. Thus even when tatparya is not taken as a separate vrtti, it could be referred to as the motive force conveying the syntactic relation; in fact Parthasarathimis'ra himself refers to the function of tatparya in one place; 45 and Jayanta quotes Kumarilabhatta in support of his theory that tatparya is a separate vrtti of the words which conveys the syntactic relation of the word-meanings.46

Professor S. Kuppusvami Sastri says⁴² that the Samsarga or the mutual relation of the word-meanings is conveyed by a process of suggestion, and quotes Jesperson's view that "suggestion

^{44.} Tattvabindu, p. 132 प्रतिपित्सितं खल्वेतदिति प्रतिपाद्यिष्यन्तः पदान्युचारयन्ति । See also Kumārilabhaṭṭa quoted therein: विशिष्टार्थप्रयुक्ता हि समिभिन्याहृतिर्जने ।

^{45.} Nyāyaratnākara on Ślokavārtika, VII, 230, p. 909: यद्यपि अभिधा-न्यापार: पदार्थेष्वेन पर्यवसित:, तथापि तात्पर्यन्यापृतेरपर्यवसिताया:...".

^{46.} He quotes the verses from Ślokavārtika (342-3, p. 943) giving the analogy that just as fuel effects cooking through the flame, words effect the unified sentence-meaning through their individual meanings.

^{47.} Highways and Byeways of Literary Criticism in Sanskrit (1945); p. 22.

is impression through suppression ".48 A kind of suggestion has to be accepted by all schools of thought; the individual words give only their own individual isolated meanings, leaving the samsarga or the mutual relation of the meanings to be conveyed by suppression or suggestion. The Naiyāyikas may call it tātparyavṛtti or samsargamaryādā, the Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṃsakas may call it lakṣaṇā, and the Prābhākaras may take it to be an extension of the primary abhidhā power itself. That is why some writers like Dhanañjaya and Dhanika include Vyañjanā or suggestion under tātparya itself.

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^{48.} Jespersan, The Philosophy of Grammar.

SIGNIFICANCE OF KARMA IN ADVAITISM

By

Dr. Veeramani Prasad Upadhyaya, Gorakhpur

Karma is one of the important mile-stones in the way of Brahma-realization, the sheet-anchor of Advaitism. It is necessary to remove a doubt which many people seriously entertain about the utility of ethical and moral discipline in the Advaita Vedanta Philosophy. There are many superficial readers who run away with the notion that according to the Advaita Monism there shall be no scope for moral and ethical endeavours. Of what value is the toy-elephant to one who knows it to be a toy? But this is an unwarranted conclusion which must be repudiated in the very beginning. The Advaita Vedanta disputes and discards nothing of human experience and practical life. On the other hand it accepts their respective status and nature in the order of empirical things, realities and value. It regards ethical and moral discipline as the first rung of the ladder leading ultimately to Brahma-realization. It would be doing an injustice to the system if one ignores this great value which this system definitely assigns to ethical actions. As a matter of fact, it is held to be supreme importance and indispensable in the first stage. Whatever may be the ultimate value of the world and its achivements and prosperities, its interim values are undeniably there and the discharge of scripture-ordained duties is unavoidable before one claims to be entitled to tread on the path of Brahma-realization. purity, ceremonial sanctity and ethical excellence are necessary pre-requisites and one aspiring for Brahma-realization must first lead unremittingly a strictly moral life. Of course it is only selfish actions or actions motivated by wordly or other-worldly achievements which are of no utility in the path of Moksa since they bring about only empirical consequences, prospects and conveniences. But moral actions and obligatory and occasional rites are indispensable, as they are indirectly or directly conducive to Brahma-realization. No doubt the direct path to perfection, i.e., Moksa, lies in and through the supreme knowledge of the

Brahma; for Avidyā which is the root-cause of the appearance of all limitations and imperfections in the forms of Jīva and all empirical entities and responsible for all human experiences and movements, can be uprooted only by the realization of Brahman, in and about which it lies. But Karma is useful in as much as it prepares the ground for Brahma-realization through mental purification, psychical perfection, spiritual fitness and stimulation of a firm desire for Brahma-realization.

Achievements through Scripture-Ordained Karma

Karma, Nitya and Naimittika, serve the purpose of purifying the mind. They strengthen our control over the senses and the mind (jitendriyata). By stilling and suppressing all passions they induce that calm and collectedness of the mind, which is the necessary condition of fitness for Brahma-realization. remove all obstacles in the way of perfect knowledge about Brahman. The Devatās, who otherwise would have remained unpropitiated and thus would have created serious obstacles in the way of Brahma-realization, are appeased and satisfied through the performance of obligatory and occasional duties. From the individual point of view the Devatas are deities presiding over the senses; and their indiscriminate repression would result, as the modern psychologist would put it, in the creation of complexes which are surely hindrances to Brahma-realization. Moreover, they create an absolute apathy towards the world by revealing its true nature, that is, utter unreality or valuelessness. Lastly, they evoke and stimulate an ardent desire for Brahma-realization.

Even among the Kāmya-karmas, says Sureśvara, virtuous as well as those done without any attachment for their fruits (which are called by him Yoga) are useful in as much as they also sometimes help the mind in making it free from its impurities and in producing a lasting detachment from the world, its pragmatic values and the so-called pleasures. The performance of obligatory karmas is deemed to be the first necessary step towards Brahma-realization. It divinises the body, i.e. turns it into a divine one (brāhmī tanu) and removes all impurities and imperfections of the mind, which

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prevent the realization of Reality (jnana-bahirmukha) from lives to lives. Again, through such Karmas one gets rid of egotistic and selfish impulses which lead one to sensualism, sins, conflicts, complexes and, in short, all Self-defiling passions that feed and foster the germs of pleasures, pains, hopes, fears etc., bolster up our attachments and desires for empirical life and its falsely attractive prospects and pleasures, restrict all our moves to the range of worldly phenomena, and distract, debase, sully and stain the mind through their association. Such actions prepare the ground for Brahma-realization by equipping the mind properly for its emergence. To realize Brahma, a Jiva has to be fit. One who is steeped in worldly things, enjoyments, prospects and prosperities, cannot be in a position even to conceive of Brahman as the sole Reality and the phenomena of the universe merely as so many appearances. So no discrimination and consequent detachment, essential for Brahma-realization can be possible unless as arising from the performance of such Karmas, as this equipment or fitness of the mind for proper realization consists in its being immune from all unhealthy influences, distracting elements and diverse false glamours (which are detrimental to the correct estimate or evaluation of the so-called prospects and pleasures of the world, in detecting and discerning the shallowness and evanescence of the worldly phenomena as mere appearances, in giving up attachment for all of them as such, which perpetuate our bondage) and finally in creating the necessary mental climate for Brahma-realization. A wordly person is mentally unhealthy by remaining engrossed too much with the world. When the mind is once purged of all such impurity and unhealthiness (Visayābhyāsaja-asvāsthya not only does the world lose its charm, but the false intellectual curiosity about it is also deadened, sloughed off and replaced by a truth-vision (i. e. a vision, necessary for the search of Truth), and it is then only that there arises a strong determination to renounce the world of a mere seeming nature once for ever and an ardent desire for the realization of Reality, the Brahman, which alone can bring permanent peace and lasting happiness to the seeker.

To this extent the utility of the performance of obligatory and occasional Karmas is unquestionable and in view of their

purificatory and preparatory effects on the body and the mind, nothing of rites, rituals, religious vows, austerities, sacrifices and gifts etc. should be spurned, neglected or overlooked by the seeker. Even the forty-eight purificatory ceremonies (Samskāra) are useful in producing on the body and the mind, a wholesome effect which is conducive and favourable to Brahma-realization. At one place Suresvarācarya goes to the extent of saying that the world is not necessarily an evil in itself but it depends on how a particular person uses and handles it properly or improperly so that it proves either for good or for evil. Just as a leaf of the Apāmārga plant is soft, agreeable and glossy, if touched in one way, but rough, unpleasant and injurious if touched in the other way, the world also proves to be either an obstacle in the way of Brahma-realization or to be favourable and conducive to the same, according as it is looked upon either with attachment or with detachment respectively by a person. Enjoyment of the socalled pleasures of the world may either strengthen our fondness (āsakti) for them or create an aversion towards them by revealing them in their true colours as merely deceptive and disappointing.

Consecutive Stages of the Path of Perfection

Surésvaracarya has analysed and arranged in a successive order all the consecutive stages of the 'Path of Perfection,' beginning with the pre-requisition and ending upto Brahmarealization in the following way:

- (1) Performance of compulsory or obligatory actions (nitya-naimittika-karmānuṣṭhāna).
- (2) Purification and equipment of the mind (cittasamsuddhi).
- (3) Knowledge of the evanescence, utter unreality and valuelessness of the world and empirical life.
- (4) Desire for renunciation of the utterly unreal and worthless world (samsāra-parijihīrṣā).
- (5) Abandonment of all the three possible kinds of human seekings or aspirations in human life (eṣaṇātraya-tyāga)
- (6) An ardent deisre for Self-realization (vividiṣā).

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- (7) Actual renunciation of the world as far as practicable as a consequence of the said desire (vividisā-sannyāsa).
- (8) Resort to positive means leading to the desired Brahmarealization (namely, *sravaṇa*, *manana* and *nididhyāsana*).
- (9) Brahma-realization (prāthamikabrahmasākṣātkāra) and complete renunciation of empirical life as a result of the seeker's awakening (vidvat-sannyāsa).
- (10) Moksa, the Summum bonum, or restoration of the Jīva to its real essence, that is Brahman.

According to the above ladder of Brahma-realization, nityanaimittikānus thāna, the performance of compulsory or occasional duties, is the first step to be taken by every seeker after Moksa. But the question arises as to what is the exact contribution of Karma to Brahma-realization. Different theories have been enunciated by Advaitins on this issue. This much, however, has been commonly accepted, that the performance of Karma produces an ardent desire for Supreme Knowledge through the purification and equipment of the seeker's mind and that even a Kāmya-karma such as sacrifice etc. subserves the purpose of revealing the world or empirical life in its true colours, i.e. as the root of all evils and sufferings through its reaction, that is, by enabling us to be fed up with the temporary character of its results. Thus ultimately they too stimulate the desire for Brahma-realization. In brief, charity, fortitude, tolerance, fasting (in the comprehensive sense of abstenance from all experiences of empirical life), and all kinds of moral and ethical observances and practices purify and prepare the seeker's mind for Moksa and create an ever-increasing desire for Brahma-realization. Even meditations prepare the ground of spiritual fitness for Brahma-realization and a sustained practice thereof is useful for diverting the mind from the phenomenal world and hence only preliminary to the principal means of Brahma-realization, namely sravana, manana etc. However, when, as a result of the performance of obligatory Karmas and moral and ethical practices, the seeker succeeds in having his mind freed from all impurities, and perfectly equipped

for receiving Brahma-realization, he gradually develops in himself an idea of complete detachment (vairāgyv) towards the world. He is no longer an aspirant for the world which is too much with others still steeped in nescience, and tries to renounce it gradually as much as he can. First of all, he gets rid of ordinary human seekings and rising above them, loses that much hold of the world on himself. Then arises the stage of a burning desire for knowledge and its accompanying renunciation, which is also only subsidiary to Brahma-realization.

It may be noted here that, while defining the function of obligatory rites or karmas as being mental purification, equipment and stimulation of the desire for Brahma-realization, they are determined to be subsidiaries to Brahma-realization, here it is the abandonment or renunciation thereof that is held to be the subsidiary. The question of conflict between the two statements need not be raised; for both of them are held to be subsidiaries with reference to different stages, that is earlier and later times, in which each is to be accomplished. Upto the purification of the mind and rise of an ardent desire for Brahma-realization, rites are to be performed, and thereafter they are to be abandoned. Thus after the attainment of mental purification and its proper equipment the relinquishment of karmas is the necessary step in progressing towards Brahma-realization. The previous performance of karmas was intended to bring about that state of mind in which all karmas are to be definitely renounced or eschewed so as to be capable of advancing further in the path of perfection. By the term Lokaişanā is to be understood all verbal, mental and physical activities directed towards the accomplishment of any worldly achievement or prosperity and includes Kriyās, i.e., actions as well as kārakas, i.e.. their incentives. This renunciation of karmas and their fruits is consequent upon the mental detachment which the seeker has already developed at this stage, as explained above. Owing to the mind being fully disgusted with and wrought upon by the past impressions of the sufferings of the empirical life, the seeker grows eager to relinquish the world as far as practicable. Thus detachment is the internal cause (antarangasadhana) while renunciation is the external

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which the through (bahirangasādhana) advancing towards his ultimate goal, namely, Brahma-realization. Although both rites and renunciations are equally subsidiary to Brahma-realization, yet rites, through the channel of purifying the mind, are remote auxiliaries in respect of Brahma-jñāna whereas renunciation is comparatively a proximate one, through the channel of bringing about or occasioning the stage of sravana etc. without the intervention of any other intermediary link. There are four possible kinds of karmas (1) Prohibited (pratisiddha) (2) Selfish (4) Obligatory or compul-(kāmya) (3) Punitory (cāpala) and sory (nitya). Of these, the first two kinds are renounced by the seeker or Mumuksu in the very first stage of his performing only obligatory rites. The third kind is also left long before the stage of renunciation. So it is only the last kind of karmas (i.e., compulsory duties) which is finally renounced at this stage by the seeker. With his mind purified and purged of all evil tendencies, and his heart set on Brahma-realization, he does not fear the consequences of 'omission' as he sees no use of persisting in the performance of even these Karmas whose performance or nonperformance does not at all help him in getting rid of the world, the empirical life and its immense and unending sufferings. he naturally abandons even the obligatory Karmas.

This stage of renunciation accompanying the desire to know (Vividiṣā-Sannyāsa) is to be distinguished from the later stage of perfect renunciation accompanying Brahma-realization (Vidvat-Sannyāsa) in as much as while in the latter stage of final renunciation it is just a part and parcel of the knower's very nature (Svarūpabhūta) and arises without any effort on his part as spontaneously as breathing and is full of calmness and quiescence on account of the quelling of all disturbing influences and elements; in the former stage of prelimiary renunciation it is something to be cultivated and gradually developed by the seeker as the necessary and comparatively auxiliary means to Brahma-realization.

Sures varācārya has vehemently criticised the acceptance of Sannyāsa at one's sweet will as a mere formal final order of life. According to him, nobody is entitled to adopt it unless he has become really fit both mentally and spiritually for renouncing the

world. He sincerely advises such people to satisfy first their natural cravings and propensities in the three previous orders of life and then after having thus quelled all their desire and subdued their evil mental tendencies through actual satisfaction and continuous control, try to come to this exalted final order of life, viz., (1) Nityakarmānuṣṭhāna, (2) Cittasamsuddhi, (3) Samsārāsāratāparijāāna and (4) Samsāra-parijihīrṣā. After this stage a seeker is fully qualified to adopt and practise sravaṇa, manana etc.

The above view of the utility of karmas being vividisā was propounded by Vācaspati Mis'ra, who obviously recorded a restricted utility of karmas as extending upto a strong desire for Brahma-realization. According to this view karma is distantly and indirectly conducive (ārādupakāraka). There is, however, another view, advanced by the followers of the Vivarana School, which gives a longer lease of life to karma by recognizing it as useful upto Brahma-realization through sravana, manana, etc. (Sannipatyopakāraka). A remarkable feature of this view is that it admits a sort of concrescence between karma and preliminary renunciation (vividişā and vividiṣā-Sannyāsa) to a certain extent in the path of Brahma-realization. Vividisa is of two kinds: Firstly, a propensity towards Brahma-realization and secondly an ardent desire for it, and, according to the Bhāmatī School, the ultimate target of karma is the last one, whereas the Vivarana School tries to gear it up to sravana, manana, etc. and play it thereby to the final result, Brahma-realization.

The two views take their stand upon different semantical principles, obtaining in the realm of verbal knowledge and applicable even to its intuitively immediate character: "Prakṛtipratyayau sahārtham brūtaḥ; prādhānyam tu pratyayārthasyaiva" and "icceṣyamāṇasamabhivyāhāre iṣyamāṇasyaiva prādhānyam". No doubt the peak of actual performance is commonly accepted by both the schools to be 'vividiṣā', yet, according to the Vivaraṇa School, the force of karma in some form or other goes up to Brahma-realization in as much as it brings about, props up and sustains throughout a congenial mental atmosphere necessary for śravaṇa, manana, etc. and through them for Brahma-realization also. Man is habituated

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to work physically, mentally and psychically and in the last sphere it becomes very subtle, pure, distilled and unobstructive.

My personal view is that karma, as understood ordinarily, cannot subsist beyond vividisā and its accompanying factor, vividisā-sannāyāsa, and that any further subsistence of karma thereafter must be effectual and not factual. Karma can flourish and linger only upto that stage of Avidya, wherein the differences between the doer, the deed and the result are possible, while vidyā pertains to the last place of Avidyā when it is on the verge of extinction after having played its role all differences and limitations let loose by it are on the point of obliteration. Although stemming from and operating within the periphery of Avidyā, Vidyā differs from it fundamentally in respect of nature, function and consequences. Avidya is extroverse and extroversive, being functionally related to appearances only, while Vidya is introverse and introversive as embracing Brahman, the only Reality. Avidyā is obscurative and projective, while Vidyā is illuminative and sublative. Avidyā expands till the last point of plurality, while Vidyā shrinks and submerges into infinitesimal oneness, leaving the one Reality as the only Residue. In other words, the limit of the evolution of Avidya is the highest stage of grossness through the process of projection, while that of the sublation by Vidyā is the most sublime summit of subtlety or transcendental absoluteness through the process of extinction, elimination or disappearance. Lastly Avidya perpetuates bondage and Vidyā culminates in emancipation. Nevertheless Vidyā achieves its ultimate end through Avidyā and the important part played by karman therein cannot be ignored.

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THE METHOD OF ADVAITA REALISATION IN THE PAÑCIKARAŅA-VĀRTTIKA OF SURES'VARA

By

Dinesh Chandra Shastri, Calcutta

Pañcīkarana is a very small treatise on Vedānta philosophy whose authorship is ascribed to the great philosopher Sankara. The Vārttika, a commentary on it in verse, is ascribed to Ācārva Sureśvara, a direct disciple of Śankara. Though very small in extent, it is deep and comprehensive in contents, as it formulates the fundamental principles of Vedantic spiritual realisation of the ultimate oneness gradually through meditation and knowledge of the basic cosmic manifest and unmanifest principles. These cosmic principles, according to Advaita Vedanta, are appearances of the ultimate absolute reality which is devoid of all attributes and dualities. These false appearances are to be dissolved into their real substratum through knowledge. These appearances deceive us and drag us to worldliness associated with all sorts of miseries and evils. To get rid of these evils we are to discern the real essence of these appearances, which is but the one pure absolute existence. Then only can we know the appearances to be appearances and false, and thus save ourselves from being deceived by taking them to be realities. Though they are false appearances from the standpoint of the Absolute, these cosmic principles are as 'objective' and 'factual' as the words may possibly mean. From the standpoint of the senses and mind these principles form the scientific basis for, and provide rationalistic explanation of, this universe. These principles are divided in three grades of existence, causal (kārana), subtle (sūkṣma) and gross (sthūla). Nothing in this universe exists outside these three grades. Still, these exist only in a relative (Vyāvahārika) sense, and not absolutely or independently, as these principles change and perish, and depend on the senses and the mind for their specified existence. The Absolute is (Brahman) or Atman—pure consciousness which transcends the senses and the mind, revealing them as such changing entities. Consciousness only exists in the real and absolute sense

since it is the constant unchanging essense in and witness of all the changing appearances.

The first cosmic principle is the unmanifested cause of the universe which is rightly called avyākṛta (unmanifested.). Though it does not exist in an absolute sense, it is definitely something other than non-existent. It is never like a barren woman's son who is never perceived anywhere. Therefore it has been described as neither existent (absolutely), nor non-existent (na sat, na asat). Though its nature is thus said to be inscrutable, one thing is definite, that it dissolves into or loses its difference from its essence -the Absolute with the true knowledge of the Absolute. This unmanifested cause projects the subtle and the gross universe out of itself. These three grades of existence are also connected with three states, respectively the state of deep-sleep, dream and waking. The unmanifested cause, both in its collective and individual aspects, is connected with the state of deep sleep. Consciousness conditioned by this avyākrta, and attached to this avyākrta (as his possession) is called (Prājnā or) Isvara. This is the God of the Vedantin, the efficient and the material cause of this universe, as described in the Mandukyopanisad. But in reality this God is nothing but the absolute Brahman. God-hood and casuality are only Its relative aspects dependent on our mind and intellect. The principle of avyākrta being the basic material principle creating everything else, is itself uncreated and beginningless. So God is the primary uncreated cosmic principle which creates everything else out of himself. He creates or projects the subtle world by creating the subtle elements, sky, air, heat, water and earth, and also the subtle bodies. In every grade of creation, personification or limitation of consciousness by conditions continues. Thus the consciousness conditioned by and falsely attached to the collective subtle body is the first created principle or person called Hiranyagarbha. The subtle body includes the five sense-organs, the five organs of action, the five vital forces, the mind and the intellect. It is connected with the state of dream, both in its collective and individual aspects. The individual aspect is called taijasa, the dreaming person.

THE METHOD OF ADVAITA REALISATION

Then gross creation begins. The five subtle elements combine in a fixed proportion $(\frac{1}{2}+1/8 \text{ of } 4)$ to make each a five-fold compound. This is the process of pancikarana. The name is given to the treatise to signify the whole process of this appearing creation which is called $adhy\bar{a}ropa$. The total collective gross body is made of these five gross elements. The individual gross bodies are also included in this. The personified consciousness falsely attached to the collective gross body is $vir\bar{a}t$, while the individuated consciousness attached to the individual gross body is visva.

Now, if these cosmic principles are not absolutely real but are only false appearances, then what is the good of stating them in the Vedanta which aims only at attaining the ultimate Reality through its knowledge? This adhyāropa has been stated and is to be correctly understood only for the sake of apavada, i.e. for their negation upon and dissolution into the ultimate Reality through knowledge. Otherwise these principles, which form the whole universe will be mistaken as absolute realities and will thus conceal from us the Absolute Reality Brahman and keep us in this state of bondage. The process of dissolution is through the knowledge of the real substratum and is thus based on metaphysical truth. It is not a forced abstraction or mental process. But this knowledge which must be of the nature of a direct experience (aparoksānubhūti) requires a course of disciplined meditation upon those principles in an order reverse to that of adhyaropa (process of appearing creation). Just as an illusory snake dissolves into the rope with the knowledge of the substratum rope, even so, these principles appearing on the ultimate, will gradually dissolve into the ultimate substratum-Brahman, with the immediate knowledge of Brahman, which is attained in the superconscious state of Samādhi. The gross world dissolves into its cause—the subtle world, and the subtle into the unmanifested cause (avyākrta). The unmanifested cause (of the universe) being an appearing principle, also dissolves into the ultimate Absolute, which is existence, consciousness and bliss infinite. But to reach ultimate realisation a course of meditation leading to gradual dissolution of the superimposed principles into the ultimate

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substratum has been prescribed in the text. The mystic word AUM is used as a symbol for that purpose. The three letters of the word represent the aforesaid three relative principles, while the whole sound represents the ultimate Reality. Paramahanisas who renounce all and attain Samādhi, i.e. the final illumination through meditation of these principles represented by the letters of the symbolic mystic word AUM, and gradually dissolve them through knowledge in the ultimate infinite consciousness, and rest in the supreme repose and bliss of liberation even in this life.

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SECTION XIII: TECHNICAL SCIENCES AND FINE ARTS

President: Dr. C. B. GUPTA

Varieties of South Indian Temple Pillars (Stambhas)
P. R. Srinivasan

Mattavāraņī H. R. Diwekar

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VARIETIES OF SOUTH INDIAN TEMPLE PILLARS

(STAMBHAS)

By

P. R. Srinivasan. Ootacamund

Stambha (pillar) is one of the six important angas of a building, especially, of a shrine. In fact, in ancient times when the buildings were constructed entirely of wood, it was the pillars which bore the weight of the superstructure. Structures of this type having an oblong shape were called sālās. At a later period when brick and stone came to be widely used, slowly the space between the pillars came to be closed so that the weight of the superstructure, built of heavy materials, is evenly distributed on the walls, rather than on a few pillars. Though this may have been the case in regard to secular buildings of those times, in the case of shrines, the structures still seem to have been of the pillared-type only, because in several instances they were simple in appearance and of small dimensions. That this was the case upto about the 5th century A. D. is known from the numerous representations of shrines occurring in the bas-reliefs from Amarāvatī, Nāgārjunakonda, Goli, Jaggayyapeta² and other places. The pillars that entered into the construction of the shrines pictured in the bas-reliefs are ornamented and bear parts like fluted kumbhas both at the bottom and at the top. In the inscriptions from Amaravati and other places which mention the names of the various parts of the Buddhist stupas, they are merely called as thabas (Skt. stambhas). So it is not known how pillars bearing a variety of ornaments were called during that early period,

It is wellknown that in about the 5th century A. D. there have come into existence all over the Deccan numerous rock-cut

^{1.} N. V. Mallayya, Studies in Sanskrit Texts on Temple Architecture with special reference to the Tantrasamuccaya, p. 63.

^{2.} A. K. Coomaraswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian Art, Figs. 142, 145; and P. R. Srinivasan, Beginnings of the Traditions of South Indian Temple Architecture, chapter on Mandapa character of early shrines.

shrines and monasteries containing pillars of a variety of shapes possessing decorative details of exquisite workmanship. In spite of the existence of these pillars, texts belonging to this period, such as the Brhat-samhit \bar{a} , do not have a long list of pillars but make mention only of a few varieties:

sama-caturasro rucako
vajro' stāsro dvi-vajrako dvi-guņah l
dvā-trimsāsrastu madhye
pralīnako vṛtta iti vṛttah ||

(Bṛhat-samhitā, LIII, 28)

"A column with four sides equally rectangular (lit. of four equal corners) is called rucaka (beautiful); one with eight sides is called vajra; one with sixteen sides is called dvi-vajra; one with thirtytwo sides at the middle (i.e., by the shaft) is called pralīnaka; and a round one is called vṛṭta."

Almost an identical classification of pillars is given in the Matsya Purāṇa also:

rucakas caturasrah syāt
tv astāsro vajra ucyate ||
dvi-vajrah sodasāsras tu
dvātrimsāsrah pralīnakah |
madhya pradese yah stambho
vrtto vrtta iti smrtah ||
Ete pañca mahā-stambhāh
prasastāh sarva-vāstusu |

(Matsya Purāna, CCLV, 2-4)

Immediately following this passage is a half verse describing the decorative elements that enter into the various categories of pillars:

padma-vallī-latā-kumbhapatra-darpana-ropitah!

(Ibid. 4)

P. K. Acharya, An Encyclopaedia of Hindu Architecture, Mānasāra Series, Vol. VII, p. 537.

^{4.} Ibid., p. 536.

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From the above line it is known that the author of the Purāṇa was conversant with the practice of decorating pillars with kumbha-latā (the so-called vase-and-foliage design) etc.⁵

At this juncture it is worthwhile to note what Marīci, author of the Vaikhānasa Āgama, says about the pillars. He says: pādas-caturasra-aṣṭāsrā-ṣoḍasāsrā vṛttā iti | Misram amisram vā kārayet | 6

When he says that pillars may be of mixed shape, Marīci gives details as to how the mixed shapes can be arrived at. He is also aware of the fact that pillars with carvings of lion, elephant, etc. were also prescribed by others. The point to be noted from this author's classification of pillars is that he does not give any special name for each of the various types of pillars like rucaka, vajra, etc. which were given by the authors of the Brhatsamhita and the Matsya-Purāna. The reason for Marīci's silence in this regard is not known. But it may be taken to indicate the fact that the specifying differently with special terms of pillars with different shapes, was not either known to Marici, i.e., the practice was not in vogue at his time, or knowingly he refrained from using the terms. But the former hypothesis may be taken as correct. If so, it follows that the authors of the Brhat-samhita and the Matsya-Purāna by their using the terms specifically belonged to a time when this practice was in full swing.

Coming to the other wellknown South Indian texts dealing with the same topic, Kāsyapasilpa, Nibandhana, Prayogamañjarī, Mayamata, Īsānasivagurudevapaddhati, Mānasāra and the Tantrasamuccaya, it is found that they treat of the pillars in greater detail.

"The varieties of columns described in the text (i.e., the Tantrasamuccaya) when compared with those described and named in others, bear the following names. That pillar which is wholly square is called 'Brahmakānta' in the Mayamata, Kāsyapasilpa,

- 5. It may also be taken in the sense that the Purana prescribed these details first and the architects followed this prescription.
- Marīci Samhitāyām Vimānārcanā-kalpaḥ (Sri Venkatesvara Press Madras, 1926), Chap. 9, p. 37.

Gurudevapaddhati, and Mānasāra, while it is called Turyāśra in the Nibandhana and Mañjarī. That which is uniformly octagonal is termed Visnukānta in the Mayamata, Kāsyapasīlpa, Gurudevapaddhati and Manasara, whereas in the Nibandhana and Manjari it is called 'Sarvāṣṭāṣra'. The uniformly sixteen-faced one is called 'Saumya' in the Mayamata, 'Candrakanta' in the Kasyapasilpa and Gurudevapaddhati, 'Rudrakānta' in the Mānasāra and 'Sodasāsra' in the Nibandhana and Manjari. The uniformly circular pillar is known as 'Rudrakanta' in the Mayamata, Kasyapasilpa and Manasara, 'Isakanta' in the Gurudevapaddhati and 'Vrttapada' in the Nibandhana and Manjari. In the last two works the column composed of the two shapes, square and octagonal, is called 'Madhyāsra' and square and circular 'Mūlāsra'... The seventh variety of pillar described in our texts is not purely circular but round, associated with the broken reed. It is hence treated separately from the point of view of its distinctive decorative motif which enters into the composition of the circular pillar. It is called 'Sundupāda' in the Nibandhana, Manjarī, Mayamata, Kāsyapasilpa and Gurudevapaddati."

Besides the above classification and naming of pillars according to their shapes some of the texts mentioned above classify the pillars and call them by various names on the basis of their decorative details. For example "the Mayamata prescribes the varieties called Padmāsana, Bhadraka, Sundupāda, Pindipāda Śrīkantha, Śrīvajrastambha and Kṣepaṇastambha, - all these on the basis of the dominant ornamental designs which enter into their composition."

The long quotation given above brings out clearly that at the time of the authors of the texts mentioned above, there had come into existence pillars of numerous shapes and ornamentation which necessitated their being called by specific terms. This is borne out by the examples of pillars met with in the temples belonging to the periods from about 900 A.D. to 1250 A.D., i.e., upto about the end of the later Cola period.

^{7.} N. V. Mallayya, ibid., pp. 216-218.

^{8.} Ibid., p. 219.

A noteworthy fact in the descriptions of pillars contained in the above texts is that they speak of pillars which are solid ones and which have not been pierced so as to have the effect of jāli ornamentation on them, or to have a central pillar with a number of subsidiary pillars surrounding them so as to give the form of a cluster of pillars. To be more precise, there is, in these texts, no specific mention made of composite pillars of the type which is met with in the 100 or 1000 pillared mandapas belonging to later Vijayanagar and subsequent periods.9 Good examples of this type of composite pillars are found in the Kalyanamandapam at Vellore.10 But here probably we see the beginnings of this type of pillar, because here there is the thick original pillar of oblong shape, which is made to have a small slender subsidiary pillar cut in the same block of stone but standing as if separately in front of it so as to make the column look elegant by the innovation.11 Of course these two component parts of the column are made of one single block of stone, i.e., the column is monolithic. At a subsequent period when the Vijayanagar empire reached its zenith of development, the building activities of the emperors and their subordinate chieftains also increased correspondingly with the result that temples began to have huge gopuras (towers over the gateways) and elaborately decorated mandapas. The pillars of these mandapas were also intricately worked, some having immense sculptures (as for instance, the pillars with large iconographic sculptures in the S'rī Mīnākṣīsundareśvara temple at Madurai) and some showing a forest of slender subsidiary pillars scooped out of a single block of stone. This practice was not confined only to the territory ruled over by the Vijayanagar kings or their Nayakas but was in vogue also in the areas outside the empire. At S'ucindram a good number of such pillars are found.12

^{9.} G. J. Dubreuil, Archaeologie du Sud de l' Inde, Tome I, Fig, 54.

^{10.} Ibid., Pl. XLIII A.

^{11.} K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, The Colas (Revised edn., 1955), p. 719. The Professor is correct in calling the pillars of the mandapa of the Dārāsuram temple as the earliest example of the composite pillar. But it may be observed that still, in these pillars, the two component parts are not distinct.

^{12.} K. K. Pillay, The Sucindram Temple, Pl. 14.

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The Tamil sthapatis of modern times call this type of pillars as Anivettukkal or Aniottukkal. Possibly there is some confusion in the pronunciation of the term. Or there is the other possibility of both the terms having each its own significance. For, Anivettukkāl means a pillar which is carved with embellishments and Aniottkkāl means a pillar with subsidiary or attached pillar(s) (ottukkāl in Tamil) intended to beautify it.13 Anyway it is clear that the pillars of this class have a distinctive character of their own. This kind of pillars, as has been said above, have not been known from the texts mentioned above. But in the text called Visvakarma Vāstusāstram published in 1958 by the Tanjore Maharaja Serfoji Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore, a significant reference to this class of pillars occurs which not only elucidates the question on hand but also serves as an internal evidence for the date of the treatise itself. After mentioning the usual names of pillars with four sides, six sides, etc., in verses 3½ to 4½ of the 64th chapter, it gives the following verses:

> Purah paścāt sarvato vā kalpa-stambha-prakalpanam || (5) yugma-dviyugma-samkirnopastambhādi-prakalpanam | supratīkāntakam sūryakāntam brāhmaṇakāntakam || (6)¹¹

Here the commentary says: Purobhāgasthala evaikenopastambhena vopastambhadvayena vā kvacit upastambha-traya-catuṣkādinā vā sahitaḥ stambhaḥ Supratīkānta-stambha iti nāma bhajate! Purobhāge savyāpasavyayoḥ krameṇopastambhasahitaḥ Sūryakāntastambha iti nāma bhajate! Madhyastambham paritaḥ caturṣvapi digbhāgesūpastambha-kalpanāsahitas-stambho Brāhmaṇastambha-nāma bhajate! 15

The gloss given above is self-explanatory. From that it is known that the subsidiary pillars are called *upastambhas* and that the pillar having a specific number of such *upastambhas* is called by a specific name such as *Supartīkāntam*. When a pillar has a number of such *upastambhas* all round, it is designated as the *Brāh*-

^{13.} G. J. Dubreuil, ibid., calls it Anivettikkāl under Fig, 69; it must be Anivettukkāl.

^{14.} p. 642.

^{15.} Ibid.

VARIETIES OF S. I. TEMPLE PILLARS

maṇakānta. Beautiful examples of this class of pillars are found at Madurai¹⁶ and S'ucīndram.¹⁷ It is interesting to note that this type of pillars has had its own evolution starting from the early Vijayanagar period and culminating in the 17th-18th centuries. It is also interesting to note that in none of the texts mentioned above, including the late text Viśvakarma Vāstušāstra, this class of pillars is associated with music. Thus it is clear that pillars of this type had in their original concept nothing to do with music and calling them musical pillars is a misnomer.¹⁸

^{16.} Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India, Vol. III. (1957-58).

^{17.} K. K. Pillay, ibid.

^{18.} In the publications mentioned under notes 16 and 17 as well as in several other recent books on music and South Indian Temple architecture, this nomenclature which requires modification is adopted,

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MATTAVĀRANĪ

By

Prof. H. R. Diwekar, Gwalior

The word Mattavāraņī is very uncommon in Sanskrit literature. No Sanskrit lexicon takes any cognisance of it. Monier-Williams does not mention it. Nor is it found in Apte's Sanskrit-English Dictionary even in the revised edition published recently. Even the Dictionary of Hindu Architecture, so exhaustively prepared by Prof. P. K. Acharya, makes no mention of the word.

The word first became known to Sanskrit scholars when Bharata's Nāṭya Śāstra appeared in the Kāvyamālā Series. But Abhinavagupta in his commentary makes no attempt to explain the term. He uses it as if it was wellknown and required no elucidation. However clear the meaning of mattavāranī might have been to Bharata or his commentators, the word has proved a stumbling block to scholars of modern days.

The lines in the second chapter of Natya Śāstra where this word first occurs is this:

रङ्गपीठस्य पार्श्वे तु कर्तव्या सत्तवारणी । चतुःस्तम्भसमायुक्ता रङ्गपीठप्रमाणतः ॥ अध्यर्थहस्तोत्सेधेन कर्तव्या मत्तवारणी । उत्सेधेन तयोस्तुरुयं कर्तव्यं रङ्गमण्डपम् ॥

Here it is not clearly mentioned what mattavāraṇī is, except that it had four columns, it was on the side of the raṅgapīṭha, it had a measure in accordance with the raṅgapīṭha and that it was constructed at a height of a hasta and a half. But the word 'tayoḥ' in the fourth line in the above quotation offers a clue that their number might have been two.

Abhinavagupta in his commentary writes as follows: पार्श्व इति विशेषानुपादानात् तयोस्तुल्यमिति च द्विवचनाद् भाविनो: द्वयो: पार्श्वयोरिति लभ्यते । i.e., it was constructed on both sides in as much as the singular pārsve is used without any qualification and the dual in tayos tulyam supports this conjecture.

When Keith wrote his Sanskrit Drama, he had no copy of Abhinavagupta's commentary before him and naturally he took mattavāraņī to mean a veranda in front of the stage. But all the later writers who had seen this commentary follow the annotator and understand by it two mattavāranīs on both sides of the stage. "It is quite evident," says Dr. Mankad, "that mattavāranīs were some special portions of the rangapītha." He adds further that they may have been used as modern wings. But none of these writers explain the word etymologically. Prof. Bhanu in his Marathi translation of Natya Śastra renders it as an enclosure to ward off mad persons, but his explanation does not fit into the the context and is altogether unacceptable. It is generally taken as a technical term in architecture, possibly on the strength of lexicons which give: (1) vāraņa = a kind of ornament on an arch. (MBh. IV. 1326). (2) mattavāraņa = a turrret, pinnacle, pavilion ($V\bar{a}s$.). (3) mattavāranīya = attached to the turret of a car (Bālarā.). But no explanation is offered by any.

Recently, the Gaekwad's Orienal Series has published a revised second edition of the first volume of the Nātya Śāstra with the commentary of Abhinavagupta. There are six Appendices at the end of the volume and the sixth is called 'A Critical Survey of the ancient Indian Theatre in accordance with the Second Chapter of the Bharata Nātya Śāstra.' In this survey Prof. Subba Rao has offered among other debatable points a solution of mattavāranī and has apparently carried conviction to the Editor. Let us see how far he is justified in his opinion.

"Before proceeding," says the surveyor, "it would be helpful to know clearly the exact parts indicated by the several terms used in the text. Their meanings are simply stated hereunder and not discussed, as they are direct translations and therefore cannot be challenged." He enumerates thirty such terms. In this list occurs "29. maltavāraņī-a line of intoxicated elephants." But it is clear that this is not a direct translation and its accuracy is open to question. The writer further on discusses a line or series of intoxicated elephants, i.e. elephants in rut, is just what it is."

Indeed mallavāranī is not a line of elephants in rut. For mattavāranī is a compound and the words in this compound are matta and vāraņa. The feminine ending 'ī' will have to be Here is the explanation. If the compound is explained. regarded as a karmadhāraya which is uttarapada-pradhana, and the second word is aken as vāraņī, it would mean an intoxicated female elephant, which is self-contradictory, as female elephants are rarely in rut. There is no grammatical authority to add the feminine ending '7' to the word vāraņa in the sense of line or series. Can the word mānavī mean 'a line of men'? As a bahuvrīhi compound, the word will be anyapada-pradhana and denote something different from the two components. It will be an adjective and qualify some feminine noun, if the feminine is to be appended to it. It will have to be then dissolved as : मत्ता: वारणा: यस्यां सा and may mean a place where intoxicated elephants are kept. But the Professor is not thinking of a place where real intoxicated elephants are confined. He has his eye fixed on pictorial representation and hence the meaning given above becomes unsatisfactory because there is no such word which yields that sense. Prof. Subba Rao renders the first two lines quoted above about mattavāranī as follows: "Mattavāranī, i.e., a line of intoxicated elephants provided with four posts for tying the legs of elephants which are in rut, must be depicted on the side of the stage-block, rangapītha, to run for its entire length."

It need not be said that this is a free rendering of the lines, but the freedom which the writer allows himself lifts him to such a height that he loses his firm footing on sound earth. It has already been explained above that the word mattavāraņī cannot, unless it is proved otherwise, mean something on which the intoxicated elephants are depicted. The word 'kartavyā, unless it is forced out of the context, cannot mean "must be depicted". The word occurs twice in the three lines given above, but once it is explained by subba Rao, as "must be depicted" and thereafter it is conveniently left without any elucidation. The manner in which the learned critic deals with the word catuhstambha-samāyuktā only creates further complications for him. Here are his words: "It

may also be pointed out, although it does not matter much, if one does not straightaway agree that the word catuhstambha-samāyuktā should preferably be read as catuhstamba-samāyuktā. Stamba would then definitely mean the post to which the elephant is tied. (vide p. 619 of the Sanskrit-English Dictionary of V. S. Apte). The existence of four stambas for elephants is quite in order as the elephants are in rut. So the mattavāranī must include the catuhstambas to which naturally the legs of the elephants must be tied. Replacement of mahāprāṇa for alpaprāṇa letter is common among the less educated artisans and scribes."

Comment on such explanations would be superfluous. It passes one's comprehension why the posts are necessary if the intoxicated elephants are depicted. If, on the other hand, the posts are also to be depicted, why should their number be restricted only to four, when there is a line or series of intoxicated elephants; how,

आयसं तत्र दातव्यं स्तम्भानां कुशलैरघः। and what for.

भोजने कुसराश्चेव दातव्यं ब्राह्मणाशनम् ।

the measures to be taken in erecting actual pillars - all this is unconceivable.

The words 'rangapīthasya pāršve' also do not easily yield the meaning attributed to them by Subba Rao. Abhinavagupta's commentary mentioned above has been completely ignored, and perhaps deliberately brushed aside. Though the words used by Subba Rao in his rendering are 'on the side of the stage', what he actually wishes to convey is the eastern or front part of the stage. Had Bharata really intended what the renderer seems to extract from his words he could have easily and unequivocally said:

रङ्गपीठस्यात्रभागे कर्तव्या मत्तवारणी।

The word parsve used by Bharata does not mean agrabhage. If not 'on the sides' it means near, as in Kālidāsa's Śākuntala:

न मे दूरे किश्चित्र च किमपि पार्श्वे रथजनात्।

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or Bhartrhari's:

सा रम्या नगरी महान् स तृपतिः सामन्तचकं च तत् पार्श्वे तस्य च सा विद्गधपरिषत्...।

Bharata also employs it in the same sense when he says:

पार्श्वे च रङ्गपीठस्य महेन्द्रः स्थितवान् स्वयम् ।

The third line is interpreted by Subba Rao as "the height of the mattavāraṇī must be greater than half a hasta or 9 inches". It is thus clear that he takes adhyardha to mean not one and a half' as given in lexicons but 'more than a half'. Without commenting on the exact meaning of adhyardha, the reader may be asked to visualise the very narrow slab of fortyeight feet by nine inches, having a line of series of intoxicated elephants depicted on it. It will have 64 squares of 9" each and an elephant will have to be depicted on it. What will be the size of the elephant and how far will it succeed in catching the eye of the audience may be left to the imagination of the reader.

How what about 'tayoh' in the last line? From the trend of the argument followed so far by the critic, one would naturally think that he would follow the line of least resistance, by discarding the reading tayoh and accepting another recorded reading tayā in its place. But if he had done so, he would have lost the opportunity of putting Abhinavagupta in the wrong and proving himself a better commentator of Bharata. But, in trying to do so, he has evolved a camal of his own - an interpretation which is altogether odd and unconvincing. I will quote his own words. Referring to this last line, he says: "This is a relevant insertion to show that mattavāranī is further influenced by the fact that its height and that of the rangamandapa (stage) must be comparable. Read in prose order with the line preceding it and with the relative adhyāhāras introduced, the comments would run as under:

मत्तवारणी अध्यर्धहस्तोत्सेधेन कर्तव्या। रङ्गमण्डपम् (अपि) (यथा) उत्सेधेन तयो-स्तुल्यं (भवेत्) (तथा) कर्तव्यम् ।

Now the meaning of 'tayoh' follows very clearly. It means mattavārānī-rangamandapayoh'. Naturally so, because these two

heights are visible to the audience in juxtaposition. If the mattavāranī be of small height and the height of the rangamandapa is comparatively great, they would be ill-matched and therefore the stipulation that their heights have to be in keeping with each other and bear a pleasing proportion. Commentaries based on the interpretation, firstly that mattavāranī means an area alloted on the stage and therefore secondly that 'tayoh' indicates the existence of two mattavāranīs get squashed and deserve to be summarily set aside." What an audacious statement! And still it would be hard to find an interpretation more fanciful than this. 'Tulya', which means equal is interpreted in the first place as 'to be in keeping with each other and bear a pleasing proportion.' Whatever the number of adhyāhāras, when the height of the mattavāranī alone is mentioned, the height of the rangamandapa cannot be conveyed by the dual from 'tayoh'. The subject is rangamandapa and the predicate is 'tulyam kartavyam'. The answer to the question, 'kena tulyam?' cannot be included in the subject and however clear the meaning may be to Subba Rao, when it is examined under the light of Sanskrit syntax, it will have be to flung back in the face of the interpreter. Will it be too impertinent then to say that the sefanciful interpretations of Subba Rao dig their own grave?

In short, mattavāraṇī does not mean a depicted line or series of intoxicated elephants; stambha cannot even in a round about way be interpreted as stamba; pārṣve cannot be rendered 'on the front face'; adhyardha means not 'more than half' but 'one and a half'; and the form tayoḥ cannot even in the remotest way be made to include the rangmandapa. There is not the shade or shadow of doubt that there were two mattavāraṇīs, enclosures with four pillars each on both sides of the stage. And therefore in response to Subba Rao's appeal:

अभिनवगुप्तोऽप्यनुभवछ्प्तो ह्यनुमितमर्थं वितरति यत्र । अभिनवहृष्ट्या समुद्दितमर्थं प्रमुद्दितवृद्ध्या विमृशत तत्र ॥ one may be permitted say:

> अभिनवगुप्ताद्धिकमभिनवं मत्तवारणीमत्तविवरणम् । सुब्बारावग्रुभारावकृतं न रसिकमनसि करोति विहरणम् ॥

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It may not be here out of place to try to trace the history of the word mattavāranī. The word must have been, at the outset, connected with matta-vārana-s, intoxicated elephants. It is well, known that the elephants generally do not fight with each other, but when two of them are in rut and woo one and the same female elephant, they do fight with each other, and one which wins is accepted as the lover. This happens in the forest. However when elephants were tamed and employed in the service of great kings, the kings had the wish to witness the tussle between two elephants, even as they witnessed cock-fights and bull-fights. advent of the twentieth century and with the the disappearance of the mighty potentates, the custom has fallen into disuse, but till the very close of the nineteenth century, elephant-fights were organised at some places and the present writer, a subject of the defunct Gwalior State, has a very vivid recollection of such a fight seen when he was hardly out of his teens.

There is a vast open plain called the 'Plain of Shankargarh' to the north of Lashkar, stretching westwards to some distance from the Agra-Bombay road. It was here that elephant-fights were held. A great enclosure was fenced off to keep away the spectators and protect them from the fighting elephants. the centre of this enclosure there was prepared a raised rectangular space open in the middle with pavilions of the same size at either end. In each of these two. intoxicated elephant was shut up. Each elephant had one head-tamer and four attendents with clamps and chains to clench the feet of the elephant when he was to be taken away from the The pavilions were curtained off so that the two elephants could not see each other before the fight. When the signal for starting the fight was given the curtains were removed and the two huge giants with their trunks uprised came forward and stood confronting each other. Each tamer goaded his elephant to push off his opponent and drive him out of the central open space back to his pavilion. The pull and the push went on, sometimes on the one side and sometimes on the other, till one of the two elephants was completely beaten in the contest and forced back to his pavilion. The other thus remained the sole master of the field in the middle and this was the sign that the fight was finished.

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There is reason to believe that Kālidāsa must have seen such an elephant-fight and remembered and employed it with a simile when he wrote the following verse in the twelfth canto of the Raghuvamsa:

विकमव्यतिहारेण सामान्याभृद् द्वयोरिष । जयश्रीरन्तरा वेदिर्मत्तवारणयोरिव ॥

The translation of the verse will be: "According to a change of valorous feat, the fame of victory became common to both (i.e. sometimes belonged to the one and sometimes to the other) as the middle raised ground to two intoxicated elephants." Though Mallinātha gives bhitti as the meaning of vedi and remarks, मध्ये कामि भित्ति कृत्वा गजी योधयन्तीति प्रसिद्धिः, the above description of the elephant-fight will clearly show that bhitti here must be taken in its literal meaning of separated raised ground.

It may be argued that whenever such fights took place, there was always an open space in the middle where the actual fighting took place and there were two similar enclosures on both sides of the open space. The middle ground was called vedi and the two enclosures used for shutting up the mad elephants were called mattavarani-s. This must have been the vyutpatti-nimitta of the word. But later when the word became current, it was used for any two structures similar to each other at the two ends with a common ground in the middle. Each of the structures was called mattavāranī, but the number always and necessarily suggested is two. This mattavāranī, i.e. two enclosures of similar size may have any dimensions and any shape and therefore in connection with the stage Bharata says that they should have four pillars and they should be in proportion to the rangapītha. It is also possible that the four pillars might have suggested the four legs of the elephants and there might have been an arch in the form of upraised trunks of the two elephants meeting each other at the centre as is depicted in the picture of Gaja-laksmī. It can be adduced as a further reason to give the name mattavāraņī to the twofold structure. The base of this arch might been used for the drop-curtain. But this is a mere suggestion and may be taken for what it is worth. There is however no reason not to accept it till some better suggestion is advanced and approved.

MALLA PURAŅA ITS CONTENTS AND IMPORTANCE

By

Dr. E. D. Kulkarni, Poona

The Malla Purāna is a rare work on the Science of Wrestling available only in manuscript. Though we meet with in ancient Sanskrit literature stray references to niyuddha or wrestling, nowhere do we get complete information about this science in one place. From this point of view the present work is unique in itself as it gives in detail all necessary information regarding the different aspects of the Science of Wrestling. Incidentally it discusses a number of technical terms relating to this science and herein lies its importance from lexicographical point of view.

The Malla Furāṇa is extant in a fairly old manuscript deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. (No. 369 of 1892-95).²

The Ms. consists of 18 folios of paper and each folio contains about 11-14 lines. It is complete and is in good condition. A few corrections and additions are recorded in the margin. It is written in a quite legible hand and in grammatically correct Sanskrit, though it is not completely free from grammatical errors.

Unfortunately we have no information about its author and the date of its composition. The date of copying the Ms. is stated as Monday, the 11th day of the first half of the month of Pausa in the year Samvat 1731 (= 1674 A. D.)².

- Cf. Mahābhārata, Adiparvan, (Cr. Ed.) Adh. 124; Sabhāparvan, Adh. 21; Harivamśa, Viṣṇuparvan (Citraśālā Ed.), 28-31; Harivamśa, Viṣṇuparvan, (Citraśālā Ed.), Adh. 28-31; Agnipurāṇa, (Ānandāśrama Series), Adh. 12; Mānasollāsa of Someśvara, Viṃśati IV, Adh. vi verses 879 to 996.
- 2. My friend Dr. G. M. Patil of Bombay informs me that he has a Ms. of Mallapurāņa. Another work on wrestling, titled Mallasāstra of Devisimha is deposited in Bikaner Mss. Library. I have not seen either of these Mss.
- 3. Cf. Samvat 9939 varse pausasuklapaksa | Somavara |

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The work contains about 437 verses and is divided into the following nine Prakaranas: (I) Kṛṣṇapurapraves'otsavaprakaraṇa, (II) Someśvarak rsnapras'nottaraprakarana, (III) Catuhpātrapra-(IV) Pancangamallalaksanaprakarana, (V) Gajasimhamṛgavṛṣabhamallasvarūpaprakarana, (VI) Kalāprakarana, (VII) Angaghātaprakarana, (VIII) Caturmallaśramalakṣaṇaprakaraṇa.

The First chapter describes an occasion when Lord Krsna imparted the knowledge of this science to Someśvara. After having killed Kamsa, Balarama and Kṛṣṇa, on their way to Dvarakā, visited Mayūravamvāla situated in Dharmāranya, to the east of Lohāpura and near Mohera. It was a place of natural scenery and a chief seat of knowledge. In Krtayuga it was known as Isāna, in Tretāyuga as Śrīmālaka, in Dvāpāra as Mayūravamvāla and in Kaliyuga it is known as Devālaya.

Chapter II is devoted to the praise of Mallavidya. It is the best of all sciences in that it pervades the body of its possessor and fulfils his desires. By the acquisition of this science a person becomes worthy of honour in the world, tones down the pride of others, controls all his enemies, aquires angasuddhi, sattvasuddhi and balavrddhi and attains completely the four objectives of human life.

Chapter III gives four types of wrestlers and describes in detail the characteristics of each type of wrestlers.4 (1) Jyesthin (2) Antarajyesthin (3) Gopakulas and (4) Bhavisya. A Jyesthin is endowed with sixty-four qualities and is the best type of wrestler: Antarajyesthin is possessed of thirty qualities and is of the middling type; and a Gopakula is supposed to have thirty-seven qualities and is said to be a low type of wrestler. Incidentally the author narrates twenty-one defects by the possession of which a person is declared disqualified for Mallavidy a and twenty-four qualities, which qualify a person to be titled Bhavisya.

^{4.} Cf. Mānasollāsa, IV. vi. 879-80. It mentions only three types of wrestlers, viz. Jyesthika, Antarajyesthika and Govala.

^{5.} Ibid., Govala for Gopakula.

^{6.} Ibid., IV. vi. 881. He is named as bhavisnu; cf. āvimsater vatsarebhyo bhavisnur malla ucyate | tata ürdhvam trimsadabdat prarüdhah parikirtitah ||

MALLA PURANA

Chapter IV is devoted to the consideration of the different limbs of wrestlers belonging to each of the types mentioned above. For this purpose the author describes thirty-two qualities of Uttamānga and sixteen qualities of adhamānga.

The wrestlers are again classified into five types according as they possess the strength of bones, flesh and marrow: (1) Asthisāra having strength of bones; (2) Māmsasāra having strength of flesh (3) Medasāra having strength of marrow; (4) Asthimedasāra having strength of bones and marrow; (5) Asthimāmsasāra having strength of bones and flesh. The characteristics of these five types of wrestlers are also mentioned. The Asthisāra is said to possess eight qualities, the Māmsasāra fourteen, Medasāra twenty-one, Asthimedasāra seventeen and Asthimāmsasāra sixteen qualities.

Chapter V narrates eight types of wrestlers depending upon their age and qualities: (1) Yuvā, (2) Prāṇavān, (3) Jyeşṭhī, (4) Antarajyeṣṭhī, (5) Gopākula, (6) Bhaviṣya (7) Bāla, (8) Vṛddha. Further the author gives another type of classification, taking into consideration their qualities and frame of their bodies. They are: (1) A wrestler of elephant-class has ten qualities. (2) A wrestler of lion-class has twelve qualities. (3) A wrestler of bull-class has eight qualities, and (4) A wrestler of deer-class has seven qualities

bhedair dvādaśabhir yuktān mithas teṣām niyodhane / mahākāyas tu yo mallo bhārī sa parikirtitah // 955 baladhyah kathyate prani ürjalas ca susiksitah / samsthananirato jneyo yah sthane susthitasanah // 956 śramam na yāti yo yuddhe bahuyodhī sa kathyate / vijnanena grhito' pi yo muncati na bhasate // 957 näsphälayati hastena sambaddhah patito hy adhah / valanam sahate yas tu sa bhaved valanesahah // 958 yo raksati hi vijnanam mallo raksanako matah / āśuprayukte vijñāne tadapāye param drutam // 959 sa mallo dhakano dhanyah sighravijnanakarakah / paraprayuktam vijnānam pararandhram ca paśyati // 960 darśanākhyakriyāyogān mallo darśana ucyate /: utplutya yo laget kanthe sa mallo lagano bhavet // 961 maryadapalako yuddhe niyatah parikirtitah / evamvidhagunān mallān samakāyavayobalān // 962

^{7.} Mānasollāsa (IV. vi. 955-62) mentions nine type of wrestlers and defines them as under;

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Chapter VI gives a list of thirty-seven qualities which are of a general nature and which every wrestler should possess. The author states here that a wrestler should have the strength of five parts of his body, viz. chest, shoulders, hands, wrists and knees. But the combination of all these five types of strength in one person is rarely noticed.

Then follows the detailed prescription of an arena, which is called rangabhūmi or āṣādhaka.8 It should be filled with smooth soil, which is free from pebbles, thorns and other hard substances. It should further be levelled. From their measurements, arenas are of three types, viz. devamāna, daityamāna and martyamāna. The first is two hundred and one hastas in length and breadth, the the second is fifty hastas, and the third is twenty-one hastas,9 The arena which is filled with white soil is called brāhmaṇībhūmikā. The one which is filled with yellow soil is called kṣatriyabhūmikā and that which is filled with black soil is called sūdrībhūmikā. The arena which has soil of different colours is condemned.

The author then gives the daily routine of a wrestler in a general manner. After having taken bath, he should perform saindhyā and then go to the arena and take his daily exercise. He is instructed not to do his exercise in the presence of certain people, for instance, heretics, diseased, excited and intoxicated. He has also to avoid the presence of women. Before he commences his exercise, he ties up his hair, and sipping water thrice, and reciting a mantra, (āvaraṇakamantra), he pays homage to Lord Kṛṣṇa who is supposed to be the presiding deity of the arena. Then he is to meditate on Vāsuki, the lord of serpents, and wear kaccha in accordance with kacchāmantra. After doing karāsphoṭana, he has to besmear his body with earth from the arena with a prayer to it and sit in a particular posture which is prescribed for him. Four postures have been prescribed for the four classes of wrestlers: Padmāsana for the elephant-class, Garudāsana for the

^{8.} Cf. Akhādā in Marāthī. Mānasollāsa calls it as ukkhādaka.

^{9.} According to Mānasollāsa, the arena should be thirty hastas in length, ten hastas in breadth and two spans deep. It should be free from pebbles. (IV. vi. 970-72).

lion-class, Kurkutāsana for the buil-class and Phanāsana for the deer-class.

Lastly the author informs us that the Matikara (a leader of wrestlers?) is possessed of forty-two different kalās.

Chapter VII goes on to state then the different sounds which are considered inauspicious if heard at the time of exercise; it also suggests that the Sudarsanamantra should be recited to avert the bad effects.

Then follows the description of the limbs of the four types of wrestlers. The elephant-class of wrestlers have prominent or plump limbs ($unnat\bar{a}\dot{n}ga$) and even feet ($samap\bar{a}da$), the lion-class have limbs pressed or contracted together ($l\bar{l}n\bar{a}\dot{n}ga$) and prominent feet ($unnatap\bar{a}da$), the bull-class have even limbs ($sam\bar{a}\dot{n}ga$) and uneven feet ($visamap\bar{a}da$), and the deer-class have limbs having folds ($val\bar{a}\dot{n}ga$) and swift feet ($calatp\bar{a}da$).

A ghāta (stroke or blow) is said to be of six types: (1) ajāghāta, (2) Prāṇaghāta, (3) Vahani (or Avahani?) pūrvakaghāta, (4) Vojovahaṇighāta, (5) Vrjaḥprāṇabhavaghāta and (6) Ojovāhaṇighāta. Then thirty-six types of ghātas belonging to the second type are also enumerated.

Chapter VIII first describes $t\bar{a}la$ (rhythm in movement) which is divided into five categories: (1) $\bar{A}tmat\bar{a}l\bar{a}$, (2) Paratala, (3) Kriyātāla, (4) Samatāla and (5) Śūnyatāla. A wrestler is said to possess five types of dṛṣṭi (intelligence): (1) cittadṛṣṭi, (2) cakṣurdṛṣṭi, (3) vākyadṛṣṭi, (4) Śrutidṛṣṭi and (5) raṅgadṛṣṭi.

The author then goes on to state the fourteenfold lāgas (contact or catches): (1) Jūṭake lāgaḥ, (2) skandhe hastena lāgaḥ, (3) ekahastena lāgaḥ, (4) dvihastena lāgaḥ, (5) kakṣātalena lāgaḥ, (6) hastena lāgaḥ, (7) pṛṣṭhalāgaḥ, (8) vaṁsalāgaḥ, (9) kūṭalāgaḥ, (10) udaralāgaḥ, (11) nirmatipūrvako lāgaḥ, (12) hastadhāraṇalāgaḥ, (13) caraṇadhāraṇalāgaḥ and, (14) nirādhāro lāgaḥ.

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In the game of wrestling twelve different sthānas, or sthānakas, 10 (positions) have been prescribed. Out of the twelve sthānas, four sthānas are considered jayasthānas, viz. (1) sirasi sthānakam, (2) karatale sthānakam, (3) udarasthānakam and (4) pṛṣṭhasthānam; another four as samasthānakas, viz. (1) caraņena dhāraṇam, (2) sirodhāraṇam, (3) jaṅghābhyām dhāraṇam, and (4) anyonyakarapādābhyām dhāraṇam; and the last four as upasthānas, viz. (1) karābhyām dhāraṇam, (2) kakṣāvadhāraṇam, (3) ardhāngadhāraṇam and (4) jānudvayavidhāraṇam.

The āsanas (postures) are said to be seventeen-fold: (1) agrāsana, (2) pascādāsana, (3) madhyāsana, (4) simhāsana, (5) kūrmāsana,
(6) dardurāsana, (7) gajāsana, (8) ūrdhvāsana, (9) şirāsana,
(10) kakṣāsana, (11) grīvāsana, (12) bhujāsana, (13) dvibhujāsana,
(14) kurkuṭāsana. (15) phaṇaguptāsana, (15) garuḍāsana and
(16) udarāsana.

It is also stated that wrestlers suffering from indigestion or from a disease of the head, or are extremely hungry, excited, feeble, or having cough or asthma, should not take part in wrestling.

Chapter VIII prescribes also four kinds of srama¹¹ (exercise) to the wrestler:

kakṣe pūrvāpare dhṛtvā prottānapatitasya hi // 894
tatkapolam svapārśvena sampīdy-ārdhāngakam bhavet /
puraḥ kakṣam samādāya pūrvavat pātitaḥ sa hi // 895
mūrdhni kūrmāsanam baddhvā bhajed vāpy ekapādakam /
uttānapratimallasya nivārya caraṇadvayam // 896
udarasyoparisthānam sthānam karavalam smṛtam /
svayam uttānapatito jaṭharāgamanodyatam // 897
pādābhyām pīdayan madhye jaṭharasthānakam bhavet /
parānmukhasya mallasya sthitasya patitasya vā // 898
kakṣām ākramya pārśvābhyām pṛṣṭhasthānakam ācaret /

^{10.} Mānasollāsa, IV. vi. 894-99 mentions four samsthānas or sthānakas and defines them:

^{11.} Besides the regular exercise in the arena, Mānasollāsa (IV. vi. 943-952) recommends the following:

⁽¹⁾ bhāraśrama (exercise of weight-lifting) both by hands and feet (2) bhramaṇaśrama (exercise of walking) (3) salilaśrama (exercise of swimming) (4) bāhupellaṇakaśrama (a game of clasping hands with a firm grip) (5) stambhaśrama (a game similar to modern Malla-khāmba).

(1) alpasrama (a little amount of exercise), (2) ardhasrama (half or a part of exercise), (3) pūrṇasrama (full exercise) and (4) atisrama (excessive exercise). Alpasrama is prescribed to children, old people, persons who are always sick and feeble, and others having bodily complaints. Ardhasrama is recommended to a general type of a wrestler. Pūrṇasrama is prescribed to only the four types of wrestlers, viz. Jyeṣṭhī, Antarajyeṣṭhī, Gopakula and Bhaviṣya. Atisrama should be avoided as far as possible.

At the end of the chapter an *upacāra* (a general conduct of a wrestler) is given. According to it a wrestler should take his bath with cold water, drink milk mixed with sugar, eat grapes, wear white garments, anoint his body with a paste of sandal and camphor, cover his body with a piece of wet cloth, and avoid pungent, bitter and sour substances.

Chapter 1X goes on to state that the period between the month of Mārgaśīrṣa and the month of Caitra is suitable for pūrṇaśrama, the period of three months from Vaiśākha to Āṣāḍha is suitable for ardhaśrama and the period of four months from Śrāvana to Kārtika, for alpaśrama.

Similarly we are informed that a wrestler should do his exercise on $astam\bar{\imath}$, $caturdas\bar{\imath}$, New Moon Day, the 8th day in the bright half of \overline{A} svina, $aksayanavam\bar{\imath}$ and $aksayatrt\bar{\imath}y\bar{a}$. Likewise he has to observe $anadhy\bar{\imath}ya$ on the day of Moon's or Sun's eclipse, in the dark half of \overline{A} svina which is called pretapaksa and also during the period of impurity caused by the death of some person in the family.

Udvartana (rubbing or kneading the body) is said to be advantageous to the body in twelve different ways. They are summed up in the following lines:

vātaharam kaphaharam medoharam athāpi vā | sthairyakaram tathā gandhakaram varņakaram smṛtam | gauratvakaram evaitat tamdrāharam api dhruvam | kaṇḍūharam malaharam arocakaharam param | svedoharam ity evam guṇā dvādasa kīrtitāḥ |

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Bath with cold water is then described as having twelve-fold advantage: it gives strength, removes bodily impurities, destroys the bilious humour and dispels fatigue:

snānam ca dvādasaguņam kathayisyāmi sāmpratam |
balyam ca paramāyusyam tathā pittaharam dhruvam |
kaṇḍūharam malaharam tathā sramaharam param |
nidrāharam svedaharam tṛṣṇāharam api smṛtam |
sthirakesam kāntikaram vaktranirmalakārakam |
ity evam dvādasaguṇam sadā snānam samācaret |

The last chapter of the work deals with the diet of a wrestler. For the proper nourishment and growth of strength, he is advised to set vegetables, fruits, and also fish and the flesh of goats. Milk, curds and ghee also substantially contribute to the quick growth of strength. We are also informed here that harītakī, pippalī, hingu, saindhava, nāgara, gala, vilva, khandasarkarā (candied sugar) and mākṣika (honey) help to intensify the digestive function and hence should be used by the wrestler. Incidentally the author enumerates the main uses of all these substances, the information regarding which we get also in standard works on Ayurveda, like the Samhitās of Caraka and Susruta.

Lastly, the author recommends to a wrestler a cake made of wheat mixed with ghee and sugar in winter; in spring he should use barley, wheat, honey and flesh of the deer, bathe in cold water, anoint his body with sandal paste and drink water scented with the trumpet-flowers $(p\bar{a}tal\bar{a})$ rendered cool with camphor and exposed at night to the rays of the Moon.

SECTION XIV: GREATER INDIAN STUDIES

President: Dr. J. FILLIOZAT, Paris

The Early history of Kambuja Dr. R. C. Majumdar

Recent trends in Cambodian archaeology
Bernard Philippe Groslier

The Voyage of Buddhist Missions to South-East Dr. W. Pachow

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THE EARLY HISTORY OF KAMBUJA

By

Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Calcutta

Of all the kingdoms founded by the Hindu colonists in Indo-China, Kambuja was undoubtedly the most powerful, and has yielded the largest number of Sanskrit inscriptions which enable us to reconstruct its history in some detail. In 1944 I published a short account of the history of this kingdom, and in 1953 I published a volume of Inscriptions containing all those published till then. But so rapid has been the progress of French scholarship in respect of Kambuja, that both these volumes are now out of date. Many new inscriptions have been published and the older views on the history of Kambuja have been changed in many respects. I propose in this paper to reconsider the early history of Kambuja in the light of this new evidence.

The history of the province now known as Cambodia (Kambuja) begins with Fu-nan, the oldest Hindu kingdom we know of, which corresponded roughly to Cambodia proper and a part of Cochin China and comprised the lower valley of the Mekong. It was a very powerful kingdom having diplomatic relations with China and the known facts of its early history have been summed up in my book referred to above. The last king of this dynasty was Rudravarman, son of the preceding king Jayavarman but born of his concubine. Rudravarman sent no less than six embassies to China between A. D. 537 and 540. No other Fu-nan is known

Abbreviations used :-

Coedes-Etats: Les Etats Hindouises d'Indochine et d'Indonesie Par G. Coedes, Paris (1948).

Majumdar I: Kambuja-deśa by R. C. Majumdar, University of Madras (1944).

Majumdar II: Inscriptions of Kambuja by R. C. Majumdar, Asiatic Society, Calcutta (1953).

Majumdar III: Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East, Vol. I, Champā. Lahore (1927).

- 1. Majumdar I.
- 2. Majumdar II.
- 3. For an account of this kingdom, cf. Majumdar I, pp. 25 ff.

and this is accounted for by the fact, recorded in the Chinese chronicles, that Fu-nan was conquered by Chitrasena, king of Chen-la.

This Chitrasena and his elder brother and predecessor Bhavavarman are known from epigraphic records to have ruled over Kambuja, the names of whose two earliest rulers, Śrutavarman and his son S'reshthavarman are known from later records. Two important facts are known of these two early kings, namely, that their capital was at S'reshthapura and that they delivered their country from bondage. The location of Sreshthapura was rendered easy by the fact that a later record found near Bassac in Laos refers to the locality as included in the district of S'reshthapura. It was, therefore, confidently asserted that the kingdom of Kambuja, round about La Bassac, was originally a vassal State of Fu-nan and was made independent of it by Śrutavarman and Śreshthavarman.

The discovery of a new inscription has forced us to modify this view. This inscription is engraved on a stele found at Vat Luong Kau, in the neighbourhood of Bassac.⁴ It begins with the mention of Trimūrti, Brahmā, Upendra and Īs'vara, evidently in connection with a religious ceremony performed by king Śrī Devānīka. There is a long eulogy of the king in prose comparing him with epic heroes, Indra etc. It is distinctly said that he was brought from a distant country and installed as Emperor by the god of Lingaparvata, a famous deity in a neighbouring temple. Now this inscription shows many differences from the epigraphs of Cambodia but a close analogy with those of the neighbouring Hindu colony of Champā (Annam). There are also legends and traditions to the effect that the kingdom of the Khmers at Kambuja was built at the expense of the Chams (people of Champā)

^{4.} BEFEO, XLVIII, pp. 209 ff. Apart from very important historical events to which reference is made above, this inscription, written in Sanskrit, in the fifth century A. D., records the setting up of a new Kurukshetra-tīrtha by the king and describes in 19 verses the holy character of this and other tīrthas in India, in a manner of which there is no parallel in any Indian inscription, or perhaps in any book which can be definitely referred to such an early date.

living at Champasāk, later known as Bassac. All these lead to the presumption that the king S'rī Devānīka really belonged to Champā and established his authority as far as Bassac before the end of the fifth century A. D., for from palaeographic considerations the inscription cannot be referred to a later date.

Now this very natural presumption raises another problem. The idea hitherto has been that the founders of the kingdom of Kambuja originally lived at Bassac and freed it from the domination of Fu-nan. But whereas Devānīka flourished not later than the end of the fifth century, Śrutavarman and Śreshthavarman ruled about the middle of the sixth century A. D. It seems therefore that the kingdom of Kambuja originally occupied an area not in Bassac region but much to the south of it and the two kings must have recovered the Bassac region, not from Fu-nan, as has so long been supposed, but from a foreign power, Champā. This is supported by the fact that the god of Lingaparvata in this region came to be known as Bhadreśvara, the national deity of Champā.

The next stage in the development of the kingdom of Kambuja was the gradual conquest of Fu-nan by three kings of Kambuja, namely Bhavavarman, his younger brother Chitrasena who assumed the name Mahendravarman after his coronation, and the latter's son Is'ānavarman. Bhavavarman is mentioned in a later record as the lord of Bhavapura and as the founder of a line of kings, and his queen is said to have been born in the maternal family of Śreshthavarman. Bhavapura could not be identified for a long time but a recently discovered inscription has fixed its locality at Ampil Rolum, about thirty kilometres north-west of Kompon Thom, i.e., within the original Kambuja kingdom.

According to the *History of the Sui Dynasty* (589-618) Chitrasena, whose ancestors had gradually increased the power of the kingdom, made himself master of Fu-nan. Another Chinese text, *Nan-che*, tells us that his son Īs'ānavarman conquered Fu-nan and took possession of the kingdom at the beginning of the

^{5.} Ibid, 210; JA, 1950, p. 237.

^{6.} Ta Prohm Inscription, vv. 8-9 (Majumdar 11, 462).

^{7.} BEFEO, XLVIII, 213. Coedes, Inscriptions du Cambodge, VI, p. 102.

period Cheng-kuan (627-649 A. D.). Isanavarman also sent an embassy to China in A.D. 616-17. That the process of conquest was a gradual one is also apparent from the Chinese statement that T' omu, the capital of Fu-nan, was suddenly seized by Chen-la (Kambuja) and the king of Fu-nan removed himself to a town called Na-fu-na.⁸

Coedes has inferred from all this that in the second half of the sixth century A. D. Bhavavarman and his brother Chitrasena attacked Fu-nan and conquered a part of it. This induced the king of Fu-nan to leave his old capital T'omu (Vyadhapura or Ba Phnom) and set up a new one further south at a place referred to in an inscription as Naravaranagara which he identifies on good grounds with Angkor Borei. But Iśānavarman completed the conquest of Fu-nan.

So far the reconstruction of the history is intelligible, though there is no direct evidence that Bhavavarman began the conquest of Fu-nan. Coedes has, however, proceeded still further. He takes Bhavavarman to be a member of the royal family of Fu-nan who married a princess of Kambuja and then attacked the kingdom of Fu-nan, either because he represented the legitimate branch which was dispossessed by Rudravarman, the son of a concubine of the late king, or because, as a grandson of Rudravarman, he sought to recover Fu-nan from the other branch which had seized it in the meantime. This would give an altogether different complexion to the whole history. Hitherto the idea was that the supremacy of Fu-nan was overthrown by Kambuja which henceforth played the imperial role. According to the reconstruction of Coedes Fu-nan continued its imperial role with the support of the resources of Kambuja which it absorbed.

Coedes has advanced a number of arguments in support of his theory; these are, no doubt, very plausible, but they are by no means convincing. The strongest argument in his favour is

^{8.} Majumdar I, 34.

^{9.} Coedes-Etats, p. 117; BEFEO, XLIII, 3-4.

^{10.} Cocdes-Etats, pp. 116-7.

^{11.} Ibid, 115-6.

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that Bhavavarman is referred to as the grandson of a sarvabhauma or universal sovereign. Coedes takes him to be the ruler of Funan, presumably on the ground that no other ruler in Cambodia could legitimately be called by that title. But as Coedes himself has shown, there was the ruler of Champa who had claim of suzerainty over at least a part of Kambuja. He might not have been really so powerful as the king of Fu-nan, but these imperial titles are seldom justified by the actual power, and often rest on pretension. As Coedes sees in his reconstruction a fusion of the two houses of Kambuja and Fu-nan, it is no less plausible that there was a fusion of the two rival royal families who had claims over Kambuja, and the increased strength resulting from this fusion might have induced Bhavavarman, or rather the next king. Chitrasena-Mahendravarman, to undertake the conquest of Fu-nan. This theory alone can explain why in subsequent history the name of Fu-nan completely vanished and Kambuja took its place. It is not very likely that the grandson of the suzerain ruler of Fu-nan, which had a long tradition of imperialism behind it, would readily concede the name of Kambuja, until recently a vassal State, being substituted for the time-honoured name of Fu-nan so long as there was a continuity of the royal line of this empire, even though we admit that a marriage with a scion of the Kambuja family might have played some part in the recovery of Fu-nan out of a family quarrel.

The contemporary history of Champā shows that it was closely allied to Bhavavarman and his two successors, mentioned above, both by diplomatic and matrimonial relations. Coedes has strengthened this hypothesis by identifying Rudravarman who, in his opinion, was regarded as the head of the family of kings beginning with Bhavavarman, with the last known king of the same name in Fu-nan. But there was a contemporary king of the same name in Champā.

Coedes has also made much of the fact that Bhavavarman is described as the descendant of Kaundinya and Somā. This is first mentioned in the Myson Stelae inscription in Champa, dated A.D.

^{12.} Majumdar III, pp. 38-44; Coedes-Etats, pp 121-2.

657.13 This inscription while giving an account of the kings of Champa, suddenly makes a long digression in order to introduce king Bhavavarman of Kambuja and his two successors, because the daughter of the last of them was the mother of the king of Champā in whose reign the inscription was incised. The author of the inscription emphasized the high birth of the royal mother by indicating that she was descended from Kaundinya and Somā. It is however, noticeable, that according to the Myson Inscription it was at Bhavapura, the capital of Bhavavarman, and far to the north of Fu-nan proper, that Kaundinya first settled and planted the spear which he had obtained from Drona's son Aśvatthāmā14. This shows that there were localities in Cambodia outside the kingdom of Fu-nan which advanced similar claims of being founded by Kaundinya and Somā. This is not difficult to explain. For according to Chinese chronicle, the descendants of Kaundinya set up small principalities in various parts of Cambodia and were called "small Kings", and sometimes they were beyond the control of the central authority.15 Bhavapura might have been one of these towns which, as often happens in similar circumstances, claimed in later times to be the original settlement of Kaundinya.

Bhavavarman, who had his capital at Bhavapura, evidently laid claim to the illustrious heritage of the Brahmana Kaundinya, but whether rightly or wrongly, it is difficult to say. But the very fact that Bhavapura, his capital, was claimed to be the original home of Kaundinya and Soma, shows that he was not immediately or very closely related to the ruling family of Fu-nan, as Coedes supposes. According to facts so far known, his family seems to be more closely connected with Champa than Fu-nan, at least of about the time of which we are speaking.

The earliest date, definitely known, of the family of Bhavavarman is A.D. 616 when Iśanavarman was already on the throne and sent an embassy to China. Coedes has thrown new light on this subject by editing an inscription found at Roban Romas to

^{13.} Majumdar III, Book III, pp. 16 ff.

^{14.} Ibid, 23.

^{15.} Majumdar I, pp. 26-7.

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the north of Sambor Prei Kuk.16 It records the grant of a ruler named Narasimhagupta who refers to himself as a vassal ruler of Bhavavarman and his brother Mahendravarman, as well as a servant of Is'anavarman. Verse VII, which has got some lacuna, records the installation during the reign of Bhavavarman, of "this image of Murāri". The next verse begins with the mention of Śri Kapilavāsudeva, and then follows the crucial passage: "khadvisarasakāvadhau (meaning 520 Śaka) sthito'yam iha", followed by the details of the date and of the grant made (slaves, lands, etc.). Coedes takes this verse to mean that the image of Kapilavasudeva, which is the same as the image erected during the reign of Bhavavarman, was installed in the Saka year 520. Accordingly he regards this year, equivalent to A.D. 598, as falling within the reign of Bhavavarman. The interpretation of Coedes does not appear to be convincing. Usually the specific date in a record refers to the event which caused it to be written, or, in other words, the time in which it was engraved, rather than to a remote past event. The words sakāvadhau sthito'yam iha literally mean that this (image) has been here till the Saka year. I therefore suggest that the donor meant to convey the idea that the image which was set up during the reign of Bhavavarman continued to be there till Saka 520 and he made new donations to the god in that year. Interpreted in this way, the date 520 Saka, corresponding to A.D. 598, would fall in the reign of Is'anavarman, one of whose known dates is A.D. 616.

^{16.} BEFEO, XLIII, pp. 5-8.

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RECENT TRENDS IN CAMBODIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

By

Bernard Philippe Groslier, Paris

Up to the present time, research on Khmer civilization had been mostly devoted to history, based on epigraphy and to history of Art, through the systematic analysis of monuments and works of Art. The wealth of knowledge thus acquired is, probably, quite unparalleled in the field of South-East Asian studies. All Khmer inscriptions have been published and translated. History of Ancient Cambodia is far more than advanced. Khmer art, especially for the Angkorean period, is certainly the best worked out amongst all the arts of South-East Asia. Apparently, we would seem entitled to draw a general picture of the evolution of Khmer.

However, when one attempts such a synthesis,⁵ one realizes that we are but at the beginning of the real work. For we have only a chronological frame, and some general trends of evolution. Upon this skeleton, we have still to put flesh and sinews. More precisely, we still ignore the social and economical structures of this society, and we are still guessing at its real thoughts and at the purposes underlying its ritual or its religious art.

Unfortunately, we are under a heavy handicap with our documentation. For Khmer literature, we have only a handful of official inscriptions celebrating religious foundations or royal

^{1.} G. Coedes: Inscriptions du Cambodge, Public. de l'EFEO, Hanoi, Saigon et Paris, 1937-1954, 6 vols.

^{2.} The standard manual being: G. Ccedes: Les Etats hindouises d'Indochine et d'Indonesie. Paris, 1949.

Amongst the last and most important works, see: P. Dupont:
 La Statuaire pre-angkorienne. Artibus Asiae, supplem.: XV, 1955;
 J. Boisselier: La Statuaire khmere et son evolution. Public. de l'EFEO: vol. 37, Paris, 1955.

^{4.} For instance: L.P. Briggs: Ancient Khmer Empire. Philadelphia, 1951.

See B. P. Groslier: Angkor, Hommes et Pierres. Paris, 1951; Angkor Art and Civilization, London, 1957.

achievements, sometimes giving a few details about the founder or the legal dispositions tied with his foundation. So the rare documents which we could use are only official and religious ones, and even they are scant and sketchy. Only the temples made of stone have survived. The largest number and most important of their statues and all the cult objects were in metal, and few of these have reached us. We know practically nothing of their secular arts, which were obviously so important, as every evidence points out. For instance, Khmer paintings as well as wood carving, have entirely vanished, and this is why we have so many missing links in our theories. Anyhow, we have not the slighest document on popular beliefs and cults.

Moreover, Sanskrit being the official language. Hinduism or Buddhism the model for ritual and iconography, and Indian art the original for art, we are almost invincibly bound to interpret Khmer civilization in Indian terms. But though the origin or the models are undoubtedly Indian, Khmers themselves did not necessarily feel their culture as Indian, or even traced it back clearly to India. On the contrary there are ample evidences to point that Indian influences, - at least by the time of Angkor, from the IXth century onwards -, were already remote or had been entirely assimilated during the preceding Founanese and pre-Angkorean periods. Direct contacts with India were by then extremely rare and we know of only a few instances, with small impact. The Khmers assimilated Indian culture so thoroughly that for them Siva or Vishnu were Khmer gods, mount Kailasa a Cambodian mountain, and the Rāmāyaņa a national epic. Even if amongst the refined upper crust the Indian origins were still known and sometimes thought of, there is no possible doubt that it was not antagonistic with the feeling that this culture had became purely Khmer. And certainly amongst the people this was not even surmised. It is not the only instance of such a process of assimilation: Even today we can watch it at work, for instance, in the case of Buddhism which has become more "national' in various countries of South-East Asia, even to the , point of one fancying personal travels of the Buddha in one's country, or, at least, of recreating a complete Buddhist geography in one's country.

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More, even. It might be that the Khmers systematically chose, amongst the prodigious wealth of Indian culture, besides Sanskrit as a perfect cultural language, and the bulk of Indian sciences - for they had none-, only cultural traits and religious systems which fitted their own beliefs or aspirations, and that too because these were, obviously, superior and far more expressive. It is therefore not surprising at all that they were able to assimilate them to the point of complete identification and appropriation. Anyhow, they moved forward and finally evolved a new system of culture. In course of time, only forms and expressions from the Indian originals were left, but practically with a new content. The same is especially true of Khmer art, whose Indian origins are obvious, but which, as soon as we discover it about the middle of the sixth century, is already purely Khmer. And there again the same evolution may be watched: this art evolved without any further contacts with India,the only foreign influence, and a scant one, being Javanese,-towards an entirely original formula, unmistakably indigenous.

One cannot, therefore, speak of an "Indian colony," or even of "Indian culture" in Cambodia, at least from the 9th, —if not even form the 8th,— century onwards. We are not, here, to underrate the Indian contribution, which was not only formidable, but was essential as an impetus. But the historian cannot ascribe his own conceptual realisation of evolution, though scientifically certain, to the Khmers who, nonetheless, undubitably and ligitimately did not think of their culture as "Indian." This would be erroneous a conclusion as to call "Roman" the Carolingian civilization and the beginning of the Medieval Christianism, because Latin and Romano-Hellinistic sciences were then in use, and Greco-Roman art and techniques were at the origin of the Norman Art.

It is therefore necessary to acquire a better estimate of Khmer civilization as such. And this from the very beginning of Indian influence. The process of Indian cultural expansion in South-East Asia is, after all, little or even not at all clear, though certain. Archaeological researches during the last decade brought

out new facts, specially in Indochina. The present writer has been engaged since 1957 in a systematic survey of Pallava Art and its possible influence in South-East Asia. In this perspective, he had been working in South India with the help of the Institut Francais d'Indologie, at Pondicherry, as well as in Indochina, Malaya, Siam, and Indonesia. But we have still a long way to go.

Particularly, we must point out that our knowledge of India, when it exerted its influence, is quite imperfect. For, too often, Medieval,—if not Modern—, India is given as reference. But it should be obvious that if we are going to speak of "influence," we must know who was the active agent, so as to trace its methods of action. As a model, the recent work by Mr. K. Bhattacharya is worth quoting, for he is trying to find in Khmer documents the exact Indian sources involved. A great deal more needs to be done in this perspective.

On the other hand, we must try to achieve a better knowledge of the purely Khmer or non-Indian elements before Indian influence was felt, or besides Indian influences. Unfortunately, due to the paucity of documentation, our prospects are too often less than brilliant. Even if the pre-history of Cambodia is still to be dug up, we cannot hope much to reconstruct by this way the material life of the people, and certainly not their social or intellectual structure. With regard to the written records, we have brighter hopes. For, by the proper sorting of Indian and non-Indian facts, and systematic comparison with the ethnological material, we might reach some conclusions. And it is at least possible to gather some information on the social structure, and

^{6.} See especially: P. Dupont: L'Archeologie mone de Dvāravatī. Public. de l'EFEO: vol. 41, Paris, 1959; L. Malleret: Archeologie du Delta du Mekong. Public. de l'EFEO: vol. 44, Paris, vol. I, 1949.

^{7.} For instance: K, Bhattacharya: La Secte des Pāsupata dans l'Ancien Cambodge. Journal Asiatique, 1955, vol. CCLVIII, fasc. 4, pp. 479-490; Id.: Etûdes sur l'iconographie de Banteay Samre. Arts Asiatiques, 1955, t. II, fasc. 4, pp. 294-308; Id. 'Notes d'Iconographie Khmere' Ibid., 1956, t. III, fasc. 3, pp. 183-192.

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the laws and the economy of the Khmers, upon which, however, Indian influence was but feeble.8

But, above all, archaeology from the earth will be our more important and probably more reliable source. We know, at present sufficiently well about the artistic evolution of the religious monuments that we may shift our attention to other aspects of archaeological research. At least I have, myself, tried to do so, first during an assignment at the Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient from 1951 to 1954, and more recently again with the help of the Ecole during a long mission in Cambodia from 1957 to 1959. Our aim was twofold, on the one hand to investigate the Angkorean soil through systematic excavations, and on the other hand, lay down the 'space organization' of the Khmers and their technique of subsistence, by extensive air and soil-surveys, checked eventually with test excavations.

We chose first to excavate the Royal Palace at Angkor Thom, where judging from previous explorations the prospects were rather bright. Of course we did not hope to find there data on everyday life and still less on cultivation, but only a particular, if brilliant, aspect of Khmer life. But the circumstances and material contingencies made this choice more or less the only one possible. The results have, however, been sufficient to justify it now. An extensive excavation was started there from October 1952 to may 1953. However significant had been this first campaign, we did not feel entitled to publish it as it stood, and we sought for further digging. But we had to wait till 1957, when we started on a second excavation on the same site, which was completed in 1959. We are now able to state our conclusions on a more sound basis.

See for instance: G. Coedes: 'La Stele de Tuol Lomlon Tiñ', Journal Asiatique, 1954, vol. CCXL1I, fasc. 1, pp. 49-68.

^{9.} B. P. Groslier: Excavations at the Royal Palace of Angkor Thom.

Preliminary Report,' Proc. of the XXII Congress of Orientalists,

Cambridge, 1954, London, Royal Asiatic Soc., 1956.

We cannot give here even a brief account of these excavations. We would like, instead, to emphasise the principal results in so far as they open new perspectives. Broadly speaking, it was possible to excavate the sites of royal palaces belonging from the nineth to the fourteenth centuries at four main levels. The construction as well as the destruction or abandonment of these palaces throw new light on the history of this period. It was also possible to uncover at three levels, important remains of wooden constructions, with their refuse and water disposal systems, their foundations and general lay-out, etc. It is the first time that we could study Angkorean habitations otherwise than on bas-relief representations.

Amongst the ruins of three palaces which were destroyed by fire during the Chams' invasion of Angkor (1177) and the Thai capture of the city (c. 1350 and c. 1430), a great wealth of material had been preserved. We discovered beautiful bronzes, cult statuettes, finials for chariot shafts, litter-hooks, etc. At one level, we dug up five foundation deposits consisting of ceramic and bronze plates where jewels, gold and silver ingots, and semiprecious stones had been laid.

One of the most important finds was the enormous bulk of ceramics; they came by thousands. It was possible to establish the first descriptive chronology of Khmer ceramics, hitherto absolutely unknown, and which is, in fact, extremely important and sometimes beautiful. It will of course, be, a very precious thread for further digging. But along with local ware we came upon even more numerous series of Chinese export ware. Ranging from Nothern Sung to early Ming material, and increasing in quantity with the time, these ceramics were classified and dated accurately both from internal and external evidences. Though we must still check this chronology with evidence obtained from the kiln-sites of China we can use it also for our other researches in Cambodia, and for comparative studies with the rest of South-East Asia. For, Chinese export ware are to be found from the Philippines to Ceylon, and even as far west as

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Madagascar, the African coast, Iran, Egypt, and even Morocco As it is always the same material, with numerous characteristic changes in course of time, and as it is correctly dated now with an accuracy up to a quarter of a century, we can establish a common and absolute chronology for all the sites where it is found. In this respect, it might prove as useful and even as essential as Greek ceramics in the Mediterranean area.

We also tried to bring out evidences as to the economic and technological conditions of these periods. The excavation of the domestic quarters and kitchen of one palace furnished many bones and organic remains, which we sorted out both specifically and statistically. These gave precious information on the alimentation of this period. Analyses and physical study of the artifacts were also undertaken in order to obtain preliminary indications on Khmer technology.

The most important discovery was in the field of paleo-botany. With the help of the Palynology Laboratory of Paris, specially equipped for archaeological studies, we are able to trace through pollen-analysis the plants cultivated and, generally speaking, the botanical environment of these periods. We have a list of the plants cultivated in the Khmers, with exact identifications, which is of course the best reference to check the names of the plants in the inscriptions, and the only way to reconstruct Khmer cultivation. It is also a perfect check for our stratigraphy, for in layers that we assumed sterile or virgin from other evidences, the pollen-analyses indeed shows an increase of grasses or the absence of cultivated plants. These data are certainly the most significant for the general problem of Khmer economy, as might be seen below.

These are, in broad outline, the more important results of the first excavations undertaken at Angkor. They are, of course, necessarily modest, as it was the first experience of this kind. They must also be verified over and over again before being used as certitudes. Furthermore, the fact that we excavated royal palaces emphasize presumably rather exceptional facts, for

instance, the quantity of Chinese ceramics, which was probably more or less the privilege of the powerful and wealthy. We cannot infer from them and draw conclusions for all the Khmer society. Nevertheless, they are already quite significant, even if only particular aspects. At the same time, we had been able to adjust excavation techniques to the specific problems of Cambodian archaeology, and to convince ourselves against pessimistic expectations that systematic excavations in Angkor, at least, were bound to be successful.

However, our main project was to lay down the general setting of Khmer civilization. For, the monuments, the few hydraulic works that we know actually, are but a part of a vast complex of works to be entirely reconstructed if we are to understand any of its components or its general function.

We started with a systematic air-survey. Conditions are, in this respect, ideal in Cambodia. It is an open country where archaeological remains, from temples and dwelling sites to tanks and canals and even rice-fields, are easily spotted. Practically all Khmer occupation area has remained uninhabited since the fall of Angkor, and the vestiges are therefore left unaltered. Geographical Survey of Indochina has made two complete aerial photographic covers of the country, ideal for a start, and the maps are more than adequate. We were able to secure the unrestricted help of the French Air Force and ourselves flew for more than 400 hours over the sites, adding 3,000 photographs to the regular covers. We mapped practically every human vestige for the whole of Cambodia and large parts of South-Vietnam. Around the temples or cities, already known we added the tanks and the moats. We found over 3,000 new tanks and more than 300 irrigation canals, some several hundred miles long. We discovered hundreds of probable dwelling sites, including even what afterwards proved to be prehistoric teils. We were even able, for the Angkor area, to sketch the ancient rice-field grids and part of the cadastral

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We are thus in a position to delineate the geographical extension of the Khmers, their cities, their inter-relations through the communication system and their technique of soil-exploitation by intensive cultivation of irrigated rice-fields. Much progress is already achieved, for we can now write history in "space" as well as in "time." We can also plan our further researches carefully and with a full knowledge of the problems.

But, of course, such a survey needs a minute verification on the ground, in order to ascertain the proposed identifications, and moreover to date and characterize the discoveries. We could not, obviously, do everything, and we had to concentrate on Angkor itself, because it is not only the most important area and the richest in archaeological remains, but also because it is the best known and thus the easiest to work out regarding details. But even in Angkor we had at hand hundreds of presumably archaeological sites. We chose therefore its south-eastern part, Roluos region, where the first capital city was founded by Jayavarman II at the very beginning of the 9th century, and which was occupied only till the end of the same century. We could study there the first "Angkorean" city, without however too many remains, as it would not have been the case at the centre of Angkor where all the subsequent capitals superposed themselves.

We first spotted on the ground all the hydraulic works discovered from the air. For this is probably the most striking characteristic of Khmer space-organization. The main works are huge tanks, installed at the highest possible level, and filled by monsoon rains or with the water of perennial streams used in the dry season during for the rice-fields, with a grid of irrigation canals which were the main arteries of the city, and often the moats of the temples or of the city. It is impossible to understand the layout of the cities or the temples, without reference to this organization, nor, of course, to explain their functions.

Moreover the extension of the cities or the building of a new capital was, quite obviously, a matter of the levelling of the ground, the supply of water and the previously existant works. The history of Angkor therefore, cannot be understood without these facts. This knowledge helps to reconstruct other details. From the position

of a temple within a hydraulic or urban system, or vice-et-versa from hydraulic works pertaining to a temple which might be itself dated from other sources, the chronology and the logical evolution of the cities of Angkor are possible. We took the greatest care, in this perspective, to plot the levelling of the ground and of the hydraulic works, in order to understand the circulation of water. When necessary, across the canals, cross-sections were opened which showed their ancient berths, and the successive layers of deposit silt, which is a very important chronological indication.

The whole of the hydraulic and public-work system of Angkor, from its beginning till its end, has been thus surveyed.

With this technique, it was quite easy to spot, besides the great temples already known, new sites like small temples so utterly destroyed that they escaped notice till now and dwelling sites no more noticeable, for the wooden constructions had long since crumbled to earth. In Angkor area alone, more than two hundred sites have been, till now, discovered, although we thought this region completely explored. We dug the principal sites in the Roluos region, opening test-trenches but eventually excavating them completely when the effort seemed worth while.

Fourteen small sanctuaries were excavated last year. These were local shrines of little importance by themselves, the more so because they were entirely destroyed. However, they gave architectural remains, statues, inscriptions which were sometimes important—and these are significant additions for us. We can trace the art of this period from the great temples to the smallest productions. We can reconstruct the whole of Hariharālaya city. We have now some details of the local cults and the "village shrines", besides the royal or national foundations.

For the dwelling sites, we could not hope to do anything more than to identify them, for the complete excavation of even one would take several months. But at least with systematic test-trenches, we identified them as such, and dated them as well, with the help of the ceramic chronology built up from the excavations at the Royal Palace. This was done with sufficient accuracy to integrate them into our preliminary picture of Angkor.

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Needless to say, we collected from everywhere soil samples for pollen-analysis. With this systematic testing spread all over Angkor area and scattered along its whole history, we hope to establish paleo-botanical maps of cultivated species and botanical environment, at least at intervals of half a century. On the basis of these documents we can follow the expansion of agriculture, and its modifications, in one word the substantial life of Ancient Cambodia.

These are some of the more interesting results of our last investigations. They enable us to reconsider Khmer history from new angles.

By a comparison of the above with the archaeological evidences, we can work out the texts at our disposal. A complete survey of ancient Cambodia will enable us to localize the various toponyms found in the inscriptions. When the ancient geography and topography of the country has thus been restituted, we could estimate the superficy of temple-lands as described in the donation stelas, and make some approximations of land revenue, production and value, and even of human population.

We were lucky to find another source of help for this work. The discovery of unpublished Portuguese accounts of the 16th century brought to us descriptions of Angkor towards the end of this period by travellers who were good observers. As they happened to visit Angkor when the largest part of its hydraulic system was still operating, we had here a first-hand testimony. It fitted exactly with the conclusions drawn from our air and ground survey.¹⁰

The discovery and the study of Khmer space-organization enable us also to understand how Angkorean civilization developed and prospered. Pre-Angkorean Cambodia was a juxtaposition of small states, most probably thinly populated, living by the exploitation by the family-type of natural rice-fields. In contrast, the Angkorean civilization is characterised both by the ascension of a unique and powerful monarchy which unified and

B. P. Groslier: Angkor et le Cambodge au XVIe siecle d'apres les sources portugaises et espagnoles. Public. du Musee Guimet, Paris, 1958.

extended the country, and by a radical change in its society and economy. A new capital in Angkor area was chosen, as being the geo-political centre of the new nation. There is to be found a vast stretch of tillable alluvions, but without proper irrigation. The extraordinary network of hydraulic system was undertaken as the only possible means of livelihood.¹¹

But such an enterprise was possible only under a strong central power. Even its functioning necessitated a stronger and stronger concentration of the society. It is obvious both from inscriptions and archaeological evidences, that the royal personage became henceforth more and more important, and that the society was unified to a point which recall strongly the "socialist" system of the Incas. The further development of this state of affairs, and particularly the overdominance of the king, need not concern us here.

The important fact is the close relation between the great Khmer temples, called usually "mountain-temples", and such structures. An Angkorean "city" is nothing but a hydraulic system of tanks, dikes and canals, bringing the very life to its inhabitants. It is now easy to understand the multiplication of the "cities" of Angkor, for this was in fact the extension of arable land with the development of public works, that is to say, the enlargement and the enrichment of the country.

The mountain-temple itself, is, better understood thus. Indeed, it was a cosmic symbol which materialized the worlds and the skies, and made more effective the sacrifices performed there for the stability and the prosperity of all living beings. Quite rapidly, this system degenerated in favour of the kings who monopolized the ritual and the temple for their own benefit, especially to ensure their deification. Nevertheless, it cannot be doubted that in the beginning at least, the temple was the exact expression of the beliefs of the whole nation, the ideal place for a "national" cult which ensured the order of the world, the regular rhythm of the seasons, and the auspicious gifts of the gods,-in the first place the rains, to this agriculturist people. And they could not

^{11.} This can: be compared only with Ceylon's hydraulic system. See, Brohier: Ancient Irrigation works in Ceylon, Ceylon, 1935, 3 vols.

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but find natural the construction of such a structure in the middle as the image of this "city," which itself was the direct source of their subsistence.

Now we can apprehend better the rise and evolution of the Angkorean civilization. It is also an instance to see how an old Indianized State had became an entirely new structure, even though the ancient Indian terminology was still in use. The contrast in the matter of economics and technics is absolutely striking between pre-and Angkorean Camdodia, and we can now appreciate how far the Cambodian people had progressed in their own way.¹²

A corollary to this view will provide a better appreciation of the death of Angkor. When the Angkorean kingship was no longer in a position to continue to hold its full responsibility for various reasons,—psychological evolution, crushing of the people and the country's resources under the burden of the kingship and the megalomania of the temple builders, attacks from rising neighbours—, the whole system collapsed, for it could function only under a single strong power and following a unique pattern. Unfortunately, with such climatic conditions as those of Cambodia, and with its type of top-soil, already overcultivated, the production not only fell sharply, but soon became impossible as soon as the artificial irrigation and annual renewal of the soil with silt-deposits were suspended. The soil, literally, died irremediably and with it the Angkorean civilization.

^{12.} See B. P. Groslier: Angkor et le Cambodge, op. cit., Chap. IV.

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THE VOYAGE OF BUDDHIST MISSIONS TO SOUTH-EAST ASIA AND THE FAR EAST

By

Dr. W. Pachow, Peradeneya (Ceylon)

The portion of Central Asia that stretches from the northwestern boundaries of China to the northern territories of ancient India (including modern Afghanistan) was considered the lifeline of international trade and cultural exchange. It was also known as the silk-route through which silk, spices and other commodities were offered for commercial exchange with countries in the West. We are not sure of the actual date when this international route first came to be used. The earliest historical record written in Chinese indicates that as early as the second century B.C. textile and bamboo products manufactured in China were sold in the market of Bactriana in the Oxus valley. This was personally seen by Chang Ch'ien, the envoy sent by Emperor Wu-ti of the Han Dynasty in 129 B.C. to negotiate with the Yuch Chi rulers in Bactriana in order to form a military alliance. Further he was reported to have said that these commodities were brought to Bactriana via India. This presupposes the existence of this international route between China and Central Asian countries including India. Therefore it appears to be very natural that most of the Indian and Central Asian Buddhist teachers who proceeded to China followed the trail of this caravan route through Central Asia or modern Chinese Turkistan. This particular route served a useful purpose for over 1,000 years from the beginning of the 3rd or the 2nd century B. C. In addition to the missionary zeal shown by the Indian teachers, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims like Fa-hsien and Hsuan-tsang took the same route to go to India. It is from the records of these travellers that we get the impression that the land route via Central Asia was chiefly responsible for the spread of Buddhism to China. Of course we cannot deny the importance of this route. We wish, however, to add that the sea route, too, played an equally important role in the international

^{1.} See the chapter on Ta-wan or Fergana in Sau-ma-ch'ien's Shih chi.

commercial and cultural interchanges. As this fact is not widely known, it may not be out of place here to bring it to the notice to those who are interested in the development of Buddhism in China, and the introduction of the Buddhist teaching to some of the South-East Asian countries. Naturally, this would touch upon the more important events concerning the various Buddhist missionary activities in these regions.

The fact that Fa-hsien in the early 5th century A.C. returned to China by the sea route indicates that the sea communication between China and India was fairly popular at that time. It is beyond our knowledge to trace the date of the actual beginning of this route. Han-shu,2 one of the earliest Chinese historical sources of the Han Dynasty (206-B.C.-25 A.C.), gives us a list of names of countries in South-East Asia and India. Most of the countries could not be identified except Huang-chih (Kanci or Conjeevaram). It appears that Conjeevaram was on friendly terms with the Chinese Imperial Court, for during the reign of Emperor P'ing-ti (1-5 A.C.) the powerful minister Wang-mang presented to the king of Conjeevaram valuable gifts with the request that the latter should dispatch to China a live rhinoceros. Later the Annals of the Latter Han Dynasty² (25-220 A.C.) say that several embassies were sent to China by India between 159 and 161 A.C. It also mentions that an embassy was sent to China by King Antonius of Rome in 166 A.C. This particular mission reached China through the outskrit districts called Jih-nan and Hsiao-wai in southern China. These are the clear bits of evidence that sea communication between the Indian Ocean and the China Sea had been established at least in the beginning of the first century A.C. Moreover, this route was not used by India alone, but also by other countries like Rome and Parthia as well. shows that the sea route to China has an early beginning, and it has been proved as popular as the land route via Central Asia.

It is the intention of this paper to trace and discuss the Buddhist missions which proceeded to the South Seas and the Far

^{2.} See the chapter on Geography in the Annals of the Former Han Dynasty.

^{3.} See the chapter on India in the Hou-han-shu.

East through the sea route. It is also hoped to point out the extent of the contributions made by these missions towards the spread of Buddhism in these regions. Therefore, a study of the following Buddhist teachers regarding their mode of travel, missionary activities and their achievement and so forth is essential and necessary.

1. An-shih-kao (Pārthamas'irī?)

One of the earliest Buddhist missions to China which has been accepted as trustworthy is the one led by An-shih-kao. It is said that before taking the Buddhist vow he was the crown prince of Parthia.4 He reached China in the beginning of the reign of Emperor Huan-ti (146-167 A. C.), and from 148 to 168 A. C. he devoted himself to the task of translating more than thirty Buddhist texts which deal with the practice of meditation and other types of early Buddhist literature. His biographer does not state precisely whether he reached China by the land or the sea route.5 However, there are certain indications that he went there possibly by sea. For instance, it is said in his biography that at the end of the reign of Emperor Ling-ti (168-189 A. C.), on account of disturbance of national uprising, he left Loyang and went to southern China, when he had completed the task of translating the Buddhist works. This would mean that he spent most of his time (over 20 years) in northern China. The reason for his lengthy stay at Loyang was that that was the capital of the Han Dynasty. Thus he would get ample assistance from the government to facilitate his task of translation. However, there is a very significant episode presented in the form of a legend in his biography. The gist of this legend, according to the statement made by An-shih-kao himself, is that in his previous birth he had been a Buddhist monk of Parthia. Owing to the effect of karma he went to Canton in South China and was slain by a youth there. After his death his 'consciousness returned to Parthia and he was born again as the crown prince to the King of Parthia—and that was the present life of An-shih-kao'.6

^{4.} Fung-ch'eng-chun: Les moines Chinois et etrangers qui ont contribue a la formation du Tripitaka Chinois, p. 4.

^{5.} Kao-seng chuan, Ch. 1. Nanjio No. 1490.

^{6.} Ibid.

The story may not carry much weight, but considering the places in southern China with which he was closely associated, it would appear that he came to China by the sea route and Canton was probably the port where he disembarked. If we interpret the legend in this way, it would give us some meaning which is probably close to the truth.

2. K'ang-seng-hui

The spread of Buddhism to southern China along the lower Yangtse valley in the early part of the 3rd century A.C. depended chiefly on the enthusiasm shown by a few foreign missionaries who had close connection with Central Asia and Indo-China. Among them K'ang-seng-hui's endeavour was unique. His ancestors were of Sogdian origin, but for generations they had been residing in India. Later his father migrated from India to Tonkin in Indo-china, which was called at that time Chiao-chih, for the purpose of trade. During his childhood his parents died and he took the vow of a Buddhist monk in one of the monasteries there. This must have taken place many years before 247 A. C. because he reached Nanking in the 10th year of Tz'u-wu, of the Wu Kingdom viz., 247 A. C. No mention is made of his voyage from Indo-China to Nanking except for a sentence indicating the direction of his journey: "Taking his monk's staff he travelled towards the East." We presume that he took the sea-route from Indo-China and reached Nanking via Canton. That is the most convenient and direct route through which one could easily reach South China. Moreover, Canton is in the eastern direction judging by the geographical position of Indo-China. There is the other alternative route via Yunnan, Szechwan, Hupeh and Chianghsi provinces to reach Nanking. This is certainly circuitous and full of dangers. For instance, during the reign of the second ruler, Hou-chu (223-263 A.C.) of the Shu Kingdom (in modern Szechwan

^{7.} It is also said that he first converted the deity of the Kung-ting Lake which is situated at the lower Yangtse valley in modern Chianghsi province. Secondly he met the man who had killed him in his previous life at Canton and thirdly it is said he died in an accident at Kuei-chi in modern Cehehiang province.

^{8.} Kao-seng-chuan, Ch. 1.

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province), Kung-ming, the prime minister of this kingdom waged war constantly against the native tribes of Yunnan. Under such circumstances, we are not quite sure whether one could pass through Yunnan at that time. It is very unlikely that K'ang-seng-hui ventured to take this risky and round-about route instead of the safe and comfortable sea voyage to China.

His contribution to Buddhism in southern China consists of converting Sun-chuan, the founder of the Wu Kingdom (222-251) A. C.), causing the miraculous power of the relics of the Buddha to be exhibited and thereby gaining a large following, causing the building of the First Buddhist Monastery (Chien-t'zu-ssū) and stupa to be constructed and establishing the 'Buddha's Village' (Fo-t'o-li). Henceforward Buddhism was firmly established on the soil of southern China and a large number of people became Buddhists. Comparing this with the early beginning of Buddhism in that area, the contrast is rather shocking. It is said that when he arrived at Nanking in 247 A.C., the officials of the Wu suspicious of his strange appearance and Kingdom were monk's costume. He was officially interrogated and put to inconvenience. The whole trouble lay in the fact that he was the first Buddhist sramana to enter that territory in southern China. However, Buddhist works like the Dhammapada and Vimalakīrti-Nirdesa were known to a section of the people of the Wu Kingdom at that time through the efforts of Chih-oh'ie, a lay disciple of Yueh-chi origin. He might have exercised some influence on the intelligentsia, but the credit in showing Buddhism as a popular religion should go to K'ang-seng-hui. Besides, in the existing Chinese Tripitaka two works are said to have been translated by K'ang-seng-hui: (1) Satpāramitā-sannipāta-sūtra. (Nanjio No. 143) (2) Samyuktāvadāna-sūtra. (Nanjio No. 1539).

3. Dharmayas'as

Among the Kashmirian teachers who went to China, Dharmayasas and Buddhabhadra may be said to have set up a record in finding a circuitous way to reach that country. Dharmayasas was

^{9.} San kao-chih or the Record of the Three Kingdoms, see the chapter on Shu Kingdom.

a native of Kashmir and an expert on the Vibhasa Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādin school. He arrived at Canton in southern China during the period of Lung-an (397-401 A.C.) of the Eastern Tsin Dynasty. Later he proceeded to Changan in northern China during the I-shu period (405-418 A.C.), and together with Dharmagupta he translated two works, namely:

- (1) Strīvivarta-vyākaraņa-sūtra. (Nanjio No. 216).
- (2) Sāriputrābhidharma-sāstra. (Nanjio No. 1268).

His biographer does not state the details of his journey; he simply says: "He travelled many well-known countries and passed through a number of kingdoms and districts."10 Since he disembarked at Canton we may presume that he must have first travelled from Kashmir to Bengal and embarked on a ship at Tamralipti for the South Seas and thence to southern China. This assumption may not be too far from fact if the case of Fa-hsien could be cited. Fa-hsien sailed from Tamralipti for Ceylon, Java and China sometime in 413 or 414 A.C. If 12 years later, the voyage could be easily undertaken by Fa-hsien, it was also possible for Dharmayasas to have travelled by the same route. It is mentioned in his biography that he returned to the Western Regions (India) during the Yuan-chia period (424-451 A.C.). But we are at a loss to know as to how he returned to India.

4. Buddhabhadra

Another interesting route through which an Indian teacher found his way to China has been recorded in the life of Buddhabhadra.11 This teacher, Buddhabhadra, belonged to Kapilavastu. He went to Kashmir to study dhyāna under the guidance of Buddhasena, a renowed dhyana-master of Kashmir. highly praised by his teacher for his mastery in meditation and vinaya observance. The arrival of Buddhabhadra in Kashmir must have taken place sometime before 401 A.C. This is calculated on the basis that Chin-yen, one of the companions of Fa-hsien, started his journey from China for India in 399 A.C. It took him two to three years to reach Kashmir (Cr. 401-402 A.C.).

^{10.} Kao-seng-chuan, Ch. 1.

^{11.} Ibid., Ch. 2.

As Chih-yen was very keen on inviting a renowned teacher to go to China to teach dhyāna practices in the proper way, the burden fell on the shoulders of Buddhabhadra, though in the beginning he was rather hesitant to accept the offer. It is in this regard we see how he travelled to China: "Having crossed over the Pamirs (Ta'ong-ling, the Onion Ranges), he passed through six countries. The rulers of these kingdoms were sympathetic towards his missionary zeal in going to distant lands. They provided him with all requisites. Having reached Chiao-chih (Tonkin), he boarded a ship.......After sometime he reached the Tung-lai Prefecture of Ch'ing-chow.12 When he learnt that Kumārajīva was staying at Changan, he immediately proceeded thither to meet him."13 If we examine his itinerary carefully, it gives us the impression that Buddhabhadra, who was accompanied by Chin-yen,14 started his journey from Kashmir and followed the trail leading to the Pamirs. When he was on the tracks of Central Asia or Chinese Turkestan, he passed through six countries. The names of these countries are not given. It is quite likely that some of the important places like Kashgar, Yarkand, Khotan, Niya and so forth situated on the southern route leading to the Chinese frontier, should be the kingdoms which he passed through. Otherwise, if he took the northern route along which the ancient kingdoms such as Bharuka near Uch-Turfan, Kucī (modern Kuchar), Karashar and Turfan 15 were situated, he would have easily reached the north-western frontiers of China, and would not have taken the sea route to reach the Shangtung province in northern China. If our presumption is correct, it poses the problem as to how he travelled from Chinese Turkestan to Chiaochih (Tonkin) in Indo-China. We have never heard of any Buddhist missionary or pilgrim who had taken that unusual and circuitous route before. As his biographer does not say anything about the journey from Chinese Turkestan to Indo-China, we

^{12.} Ch'ing-chow was one of the nine divisions of China under Yu, the great. It was situated in the eastern part of the present Shangtung province.

^{13.} Kao-seng chuan, Ch. 2.

^{14.} Ibid., Ch. 3, see the 'Life of Chih-yen.'

^{15.} P. C. Bagchi: India and China, p. 12-14.

may suggest that his journey from Central Asia might have covered the territories of Tibet, Assam, Burma, Thailand and Indo-China. This possibility is seen from the fact that the 14th Dalai Lama, who ran away from Lahsa owing to Political disturbance, reached Tezpur in Assam in 1959. In the 5th century A. G. there might have existed foot-paths in the abovementioned areas which were used by caravans for trading purposes. If that be the case, the possibility of Buddhabhadra's travelling from Chinese Turkestan to Indo-China cannot be ruled out. We must admit, however, that the itinerary of Buddhabhadra is the most strange and unique among the Buddhist missionaries to the Far East.

While at Changan, Buddhabhadra met Kumārajīva. The latter was glad to receive him, and on many an occasion consulted him on Buddhist doctrines. As Buddhabhadra devoted himself to the teaching and practice of meditation as well as the observance of the vinaya rules, his way of life was quite different from that of Kumārajīva. It is said that on account of a prophecy made by Buddhabhadra, the disciples of Kumārajīva took advantage of it and expelled him from living among the other members of the Sangha at Changan.

During his stay in southern China, many Sanskrit texts were translated into Chinese by him. Amongst his translations the Avatamsaka-sūtra (Nanjio No. 87) and the Mahāsanghika-vinaya (Nanjio No. 1119) are the important works which have influenced Buddhism in China to a large extent. He passed away in 429 A.C. at the age of 71.

5. Gunavarman

Among the Kashmirian teachers who took the sea route to China, Gunavarman achieved greater success as a Buddhist missionary than most of his contemporaries. His missionary zeal took him to propagate Buddhism in the countries in South-East Asia and the Far East, although his original plan was not specifically directed towards China. If we accept the statement of his biographer, it appears that he belonged to the ruling family of Kashmir. As he was interested more in the study of Buddhist

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literature and the practice of meditation he scorned the idea of being made the ruler of Kashmir. To avoid further trouble, he decided to leave Kashmir, and in course of time he reached Ceylon (Simhala country). According to the verses composed by himself before his death, were are told that he attained the Sakadāgāmin Fruition at the Ka-po-li (Kapārā or Kāpiri), 16 a village in Ceylon. It appears that he lived in Ceylon for a very long time, and his fame as a saint must have spread for and wide, because he said:

"Offerings heaped up in large piles, but I regarded them as fire and poison. My mind was greatly distressed, and to get rid of this disturbance I embarked on a ship.....I went to Java and Champa. Owing to the effect of karma, the wind sent me to the territories of the Sung Dynasty (420-479 A C.) in China. And in in these countries I propagated Buddhism according to my ability..."

The few lines quoted above indicate to us the causes and circumstances under which he was essentially a *Dhyāna* master of the *Sarvāstivādin* school which was still popular in Kashmir at that time. There is no record available to us now regarding his missionary activities in Ceylon and Champa, but fortunately we have details about his success in Java and China.

Before the arrival of Guṇavarman in Java, the religion in that country was chiefly Brāhmanic and there was hardly any influence of Buddhism. This is clearly stated in the *Travels of Fa-hsien*. We know that Fa-hsien reached Java from Ceylon in 413 or 414 A.C. He was of the opinion that the Buddhist religion there was not of sufficient importance worth mentioning. Therefore, it is very likely that Guṇavarman converted P'o-to-chia (Vadhaka?), the King of Java, and his mother to Buddhism. In the beginning, both of them received the five precepts from him. However, the king went a step further expressing to his ministers the wish that

^{16.} In the 8th century A. C. there was a Kapārā Parivena (next to the Twin Ponds) in Anuradhapura. See Epigraphy Zeylanic, Vol. V (part 1). Of course there is a village Kāpirigama now so called,

^{17,} Kao-seng-chuan, Ch. 3,

he intended to renounce the throne and become a member of the Sangha. His subjects strongly objected to his intended departure, and entreated him to continue to be their ruler. Finally he agreed to yield to their request, if they agreed to the following conditions: (1) That the people throughout his kingdom should show respect to the venerable Gunavarman. (2) That all the subjects in his kingdom should completely stop the taking of life of living beings, and (3) That the accumulated wealth in the government treasury should be distributed among the sick and the poor.

It is needless to say that the people in Java willingly agreed to all the conditions and received the five precepts from Gunavarman. Later the King erected a vihāra for him. It is said that the King personally carried timber for the construction of the monastery. This indicates the tremendous success of the spread of Buddhism in Java in the early part of the 5th century A. C. Naturally the credit goes to Gunavarman.

His journey from Java to China is also of unusual interest. The news of Gunavarman's missionary activities in Java reached China sometime before 424 A.C. In 424 A.C. the Chinese Buddhists in Nanking headed by Hui-kuan requested Emperor Wu-ti (424-452 A. C) of the Sung Dynasty to write to Gunavarman and the King of Java (Vadhaka), with the intention of inviting him (Gunavarman) to China. Later, the Emperor sent Fa-chung and other Buddhist scholars to Java in order to extend the Emperor's invitation to him in person. However, before the arrival of these messengers in Java, Gunavarman had already left Java by boat and was going to a small country. But fortunately the seasonal wind caused him to reach the shores of Canton in southern China. He stayed at a place called Shih-hsin for quite a long time. It was only in the 8th year of Yuan-chia (431 A.C.) that he reached Nanking at the repeated request of Emperor Wen-ti. His advice to the Emperor on benevolent government was greatly appreciated by the ruler. Among his propagation activities, he preached the Saddharmapundarīka-sūtra and the Dasabhūmi-sūtra to a large audience and translated more than ten works of which the following five are still extant:

(1) Upāli-pariparcchā-sūlra (Nanjio No. 1109) (2) Upāsakapañcasīlarūpa-sūlra (No. 1114) (3) Dharmagupta-bhikşunī-karma (No. 1129) (4) Śrāmanera karmavāca (No. 1164) and (5) Nāgārjuna bodhisattva-suhrllekha (No. 1464).

Another important contribution of Gunavarman was the assistance given by him for the conferment of higher ordination to the Bhiksunis in China in accordance with the specifications of the Vinaya. The normal practice is that bhiksunis should receive their Upasampadā ordination from both the bhikşu and the bhikşunī Sanghas. Otherwise it is incomplete. The institution of bhiksunīs in China has an early beginning. The Chinese historical annals inform us that towards the end of the 4th century A. C. the rulers and members of the royal family showed great respect to both the Buddhist bhiksus and bhiksunīs. Take for instance, the Queen of Mu-ti (345-361 A. C.) who built the Yung-an-ssu Nunnery for Bhiksunī Tan-pi,18 and Emperor Hsiao-wu-ti (373-395 A.C.) who was a great patron of Bhiksuni Maio-yin.19 though the latter misused that privilege. This shows that by the middle of the 4th century A. C. there existed a large number of Buddhist nuns. However, the earliest translation of the Bhiksuni-Pratimoksa20 was done by Fa-hsien and Buddhabhadra in 414 A. C., and the formal proceedings for the Bhiksunis (Dharmagupta, Bhiksuni Karman, Nanjio No. 1129) was translated by Gunavarman himself in 431 A.C. This being the case, it is very doubtful that the bhiksunis in China were properly ordained before the arrival of Gunavarman in 431 A. C. Therefore, there arose the necessity (and a request was made to him) that he should help the bhiksunis perform the rites for the higher ordination for the second time. At this juncture there came from Ceylon to the Capital of the Sung Dynasty at Nanking, a batch of eight Sinhalese Bhikşunis, with the intention of conferring higher ordination to the Chinese nuns. As their number was less than ten, and some of them had

^{18.} See Pi-chiu-ni-chuan or the Biographies of Bhiksunls, Nanjio No. 1497.

^{19.} Ibid., The Life of Maio-yin; Tsin shu, or The Annals of the Tsin Dynasty, see the Biography of Tao-tze. Also see, Tang-yung-tung: Han-wei-linag-tsin-nan-peits' ao-fu-chiaoshih, pp. 349 and p. 453-4.

^{20.} See Bhiksunī-sanghika-vinaya-prātimoksa sūtra, Nanjio No. 1150.

not yet completed the required years after the *Upasampadā* ordination,²¹ Guṇavarman helped them to invite a fresh batch of bhikṣuṇīs from Ceylon, the leader of this new delegation being Theri Triśaraṇa.²³ As Guṇavarman was in Ceylon for a long time, he was possibly the most suitable person to do it. He passed away in 432 A. C. at the age of 65. This event took place just before the arrival²³ of the second batch of bhikṣuṇīs from Ceylon. He left behind him a work of 36 stanzas regarding his views on meditation, his attainment and his missionary career.

6. Gunabhadra

Guṇabhadra was known as a teacher of the Mahāyāna in China. He belonged to a Brahmin family in Central India. Before his coming to China, he, too, had spent sometime in Ceylon and other countries in the South Seas. He reached Canton²⁴ in 436 A.C. and was accorded a warm welcome by Emperor Tai-tsu of the Sung Dynasty (420-479 A.C.) at Nanking. During the period of his voyage from Ceylon to China, he and his companions experienced great difficulty owing to the shortage of drinking water. Fortunately Nature came to their rescue, and they were lucky in getting a shower of rain. This was said to be the effect of his prayer to the merciful Avalokites'vara Bodhisattva.

He stayed in southern China for 33 years and passed away in 468 A.C. at the age of 75. He translated more than twenty works pertaining to both the Hīnayānic and Mahāyānic forms of Buddhism. Among his translations the Śrīmālā-devī-Simhanāda (Nanjio No. 59) and Samyuktāgama-sūtra (Nanjio No. 544) are very popular.

7-8. Sanghapāla and Mandra

Both Sanghapāla and Mandra (or Mandrasena) belonged to Fu-nan or modern Cambodia. They were probably the first

^{21.} See Mahāvagga, I, 31, 2-6.

^{22.} W. Pachow: 'Ancient cultural relations between Ceylon and China.'
University of Ceylon Review, Vol. XII No. 3, 1954; Kao-seng-chuan,
Ch. 3.

^{23.} See the Life of Sanghavarman, Kan-seng-chuan, Ch. 3.

^{24.} Kao-seng-chuan, Ch. 3.

Buddhist missionaries to go to China from that country and undertake the work of translation. Naturally they must have gone to China by sea, because it is said in the biography of Sanghapāla that he reached the Capital (Nanking) of the Ch'i Dynasty (479–502 A.C.) by ship. While at Nanking he studied the Vaipulya Mahāyāna texts (under Guṇabhadra?)²⁵; from 506 A.C. onwards for over fifteen years he translated 11 works including the Vimokṣamārga-sāstra (Nanjio No. 1293) which is supposed to be the counterpart of the Visuddhimagga²⁶ of Buddhaghoṣa with slight variations. The rest of his works are concerning the Mahāyāna doctrines,²⁷ although it is stated in his biography²⁸ that earlier he specialised in the Abhidharmas'āstras. He passed away in 524 A.C. at the age of 65.

Mandra went to China at the beginning of the Liang Dynasty (502-557 A.C.). He worked jointly with Sanghapāla in translating Buddhist texts such as Ratnamegha-sūtra (Nanjio No. 152), Sapta-satika-prajnāpāramitā (Nanjio No. 23 '46') and so forth. This indicates that Fu-nan at that time was very familiar with Mahā-yānic literature. However, his translations were not satisfactory because he did not possess a good knowledge of Chinese.²⁹

9. Paramārtha alias Guņaratna

Paramārtha or Guņaratna was one of the well-known Indian teachers in China who contributed extensively towards the propagation of Mahāyāna Buddhism by translating many important Sanskrit texts into Chinese. However, the way of his going to China and the several attempts made by him with the intention of returning to India, indicate that originally he had no idea of going to that country; and apparently he was not very happy there.

^{25.} As Guṇabhadra died in 468 A.C. he could not have been able to meet him (Guṇabhadra) in 479 A.C. at Nanking. It may be that Sanghapāla was his disciple earlier.

^{26.} P. V. Bapat: Vimuttimagga and Visuddhimagga: A comparative study 1939.

^{27.} See Nanjio Nos. 22, 308. 353, 442 and 1103 etc.

^{28.} See Su kao-seng chuun, Ch. 1.

^{29.} Ibid.

He belonged to Ujjayinī (Ujjain) of western India and was very enthusiastic in travelling to distant lands to propagate the teaching of the Buddha. We are not very clear as to how he went to Fu-nan (Cambodia) from India, but we know how he went to China from Fu-nan. While he was in Fu-nan. the Emperor Wu-ti of the Liang Dynasty sent Chang-fan, his envoy to Fu-nan, to pay a return visit during the period of Ta-t'ung (535-545 A. C.). This Emperor also requested the king of that country to collect Mahāyāna texts and invite eminent Buddhist teachers to go to China, so that his envoy would accompany them. Paramartha was chosen by the king of Fu-nan, and 240 bundles of Buddhist texts were entrusted to him to be taken to China. He arrived at Nan-hai in southern China in 546 A. C. and two years later in 548 A. C. he reached Nanking. Owing to the political upheaval in the country, he could not settle down, and had hardly any time to devote himself to the task of translating the Buddhist works into Chinese. He had to move from place to place in the regions of Kianghsi, Nanking and Canton. This upset his plan. Therefore, he was rather dissppointed and wanted to seek a more fertile soil for the spread of Buddhism in the South Seas and had the intention of going to Lankasuka (now the northern part of Malaya Peninsula). This happened in 558 A. C. However, he was earnestly requested by both the members of the Sangha and the laity to stay on in China. Again in 562 A. C. he embarked on an occean-going ship at the port of Liangan intending to return to India. This time, he must have felt very happy that he was finally going back to his homeland. But unfortunately, unfavourable winds brought his boat back to the port of Canton in southern China! Since then he thought it was useless in trying to escape from the effect of one's karma, and decided to settle down in China for good. During his twentythree years' stay (from 546 to 569 A. C.) in that country, he translated sixtyfour works of which twentynine are still extant.31 Among his translations the Madhyanta-vibhaga-sastra2 (Nanjio No. 1248), Mahayanasampari-

^{30.} Su-kao-seng-chuan, Ch. 1.

^{31.} Ibid.

^{32.} See Nanjio's Catalooue of the Chinese Buddhist Tripitaka, Appendix II, p. 423.

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graha-sāstra (Nanjio No. 1183) and Mahāyāna-sraddhopāda-sāstra (Nanjio No. 1249) are very popular. It is obvious that most of the śāstras translated by him formed a nucleus of the Yogacāra doctrine of Asanga and Vasubandhu in China, and on the foundation of this, we see the establishment of the Dharmalakṣana school of Hsuan-tsang in the 7th century A. C.

He passed away in 539 A. C. at the age of 71.

10. Punyopāya

Punyopāya was known in China as Nadi, 'the master of Tripitaka'. He was comparatively less fortunate in his missionary endeavour in that country. He came from Central India. Before his arrival in China in 655 A. C. he had been to the Lanka Mountain (The Adam's Peak) in Ceylon (the Simhala country) and visited the countries in the South Seas for the purpose of propagating Buddhist teaching. While in these regions he heard of the name of China; therefore, he collected over 500 bundles of both Mahayana and Hinayana texts amounting to 1,500 works and brought these texts along with him to the capital (Changan) of the T'ang Dynasty. He stayed in the Tz'ū-en-ssū Monastery where Hsuan-tsang was engaged in the task of translating Buddhist works at that time. As the glory and fame of Hsuantsang at this juncture reached dazzling heights, Punyopaya was pushed into the shade. Moreover, they differed greatly in their learning. Hsuan-tsang laid emphasis on Dharmalaksana or the doctrine of Consciousness while Punyopaya followed the traditional teaching of Nagarjuna and his accent was on S'ūnya philosophy. To add fuel to fire, in this unhappy situation. he was requested by Emperor Kao-tsung in 656 A. C. to go to the Kunlun regions (or the Pulo Condore Island in the China Sea)33 to gather some rare medicinal herbs for him. This mission took him seven years to execute. In 663 A. C. when he returned to the monastery where he used to stay, he found to his dismay that all the Sanskrit manuscripts he had brought with him were taken by Hsuan-tsang, and that the latter was at that time staying in the Yuhua Palace. Naturally he was at a loss and could not translate any

^{33.} Ibid., P. 438.

work of importance except some minor texts.34 Sometime in 663 A. C., the king of Chen-la (Cambodia) expressed the wish to the Chinese emperor that they would like to have Punyopaya, their old spiritual teacher, to be with them, and the request was duly granted. He went to Cambodia and never returned to Ghina.35

11-12. Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra

Vajrabodhi and his pupil Amoghavajra were chiefly responsible for the establishment of a separate Esoteric School of Buddhism in China in the early part of 8th century A. C. The former belonged to a Brahmin family of the Malay region in South India, and his father was the preceptor of the king of Conjeevaram. He studied at the Nalanda University as well as in western India. He was famed for his mastery in the Tripitaka and Tantric Buddhism. We have a distinct record of his itinerary. He started his journey from his home town in Malay heading towards the Lanka Mountain (The Adam's Peak) in Ceylon. Later, embarking on an ocean-going ship, he passed through the Nicobar Islands, 56 S'rīvijaya (Palembang) and other countries over twenty in number in the South Seas. Then he proceeded to China and reached Canton in 719 A. C. Through his efforts many religious performances used to take place, and Tantric Mandalas were made in various regions in China. There are eleven works described as his translations in the Catalogue of Nanjio. These texts chiefly pertain to Tantric Dhāranīs. He passed away in 732 A.C. at the age of seventyone.

Amoghavajra was possibly the most successful disciple of Vajrabodhi. Not only did he succeed him in putting Tantric Buddhism on a firm footing by popularising it among the members of the royal family and the general public, but the large number of Tantric texts translated by him, and the mission undertaken by him in search of Buddhist texts in India and Ceylon should be regarded as an important event in the history of Chinese Buddhism. According to his biographer, 37 he belonged to a Brahmin family

^{34.} See Nanjio Nos . 462 and 521.

^{35.} Su-kao-seng-chuan, Ch. 4.

^{36.} Sung-kao-seng chuan, Ch. 1, Nanjio No. 1495, 37. Ibid.

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in northern India, but according to Yuan-chao, author of Chenyuan-hsin-ting-shih-chiao-mu-lu or a Buddhist Catalogue of the Chen-yuan period (785-804 A. C.), it is said that his native country was Ceylon (the Simihala country) in South India. Probably the former statement is more correct, because Ceylon has never been a part of India in the sense in which we understand the expression up to the time with which we are dealing. It is stated in his biography that after the demise of his parents, Amoghavajra went to China with his uncle on a visit, and at the age of 15, became a disciple of Vajrabodhi. This part of his biography is rather complicated. If he were really of a Brahmin family, and had nothing to do with trade, what was the purpose of going so far on a tour to the Far East? Granted that was so, why should he became a Buddhist novice at such an early age? These are points yet to be answered.

To carry out the wishes of his late teacher, who instructed him to go to India and Ceylon in order to collect more Tantric works, he began his journey in 741 A.C. with the assistance of Chinese government officials. The route he followed was from Canton to Ceylon via Java (Ho-lin, Kalinga), and then from Ceylon to India. On his way to Java, he and his companions encountered a terrific storm at one stage and their boat was tossed about in the mountain-like waves and by a huge whale at another stage. They managed to escape from these dangers unharmed. While in Ceylon he was respected by King Silamegha to such an extent that the King himself bathed him with scented water everyday, during his stay in the King's palace.38 Later, he requested the well-known Sinhalese Tantric master Samantabhadra (P'u-hsien) Acarya to perform the ceremony of the two Mandalas, viz., the Vajradhatu and Garbhadhatu, and initiate him and his Chinese disciples into the profound mystery of Tantrism. It is said that he collected over 500 volumes of sūtras, s'āstras and Tantric texts in the Island of Ceylon. When he completed his work in that country, he proceeded to India, and in 746 A.C. he returned to China.39

^{38.} W. Pachow: Ancient cultural relations between Ceylon and China. University of Ceylon Review, Vol. XII. No. 3, P. 184-5.

^{39.} Nothing has been mentioned about his return trip.

From that time onwards till his death in 774 A. C. he engaged. himself in the performance of Tantric rites and ceremonies. He was the spiritual teacher to three emperors of the T'ang Dynasty, Hsūan-tsung, Shu-tsung, and Tai-tsung. It was under his influence that the Tantric practices dealing with talismanic forms and the occasional exhibition of supernatural powers gained currency in China.

According to his own statement 10 made in 771 A.C. he translated 77 works consisting of over 120 fasciculi, but according to the Catalogue of Nanjio there are 108 works ascribed to him, and they are available in most of the editions of the Chinese Tripitaka. His translations chiefly deal with Tantras and Dhāranīs.

13. Prāiña

This teacher may be regarded as one of the unhappy travellers who went to China by the sea route. He was a native of Kapis'a. He studied the Hinayana, Mahayana and Tantric literatures in northern and southern India and at Nalanda. While he was in South India he learnt that Manjusrī Bodhisattva had his abode in China, and therefore decided to embark on a ship sailing for that country. It is said that when he was almost in the vicinity of Canton, an unfavourable wind brought his boat to the east of Ceylon41 (Simhala kingdom). No clear indication is given with regard to the actual position of his boat. It may be very doubtful that his boat was close to the shores of Ceylon. It may be that his boat was somewhere close to Indo-China or Cambodia. This is strengthened by the fact that after sometime he collected funds and built a large boat, and then travelled extensively through all the countries in the region of the South Seas. Later, when he was not very far from Canton for the second time, we are told, there arose a sudden storm and his boat was capsized, though he managed to save himself from drowning and salvaged his Sanskrit texts. He reached the city of Canton in 780 A.C., and six years later arrived at Changan in 786 A.C. In 792 A. C. he was under the patronage of Emperor Teh-tsung (779-804

^{40.} See Sung-kao-seng-chnan, Ch. 1.

^{41.} Ibid., Ch. 2.

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A. C.) who asked many Chinese Buddhist scholars to help him in his task of translating Sanskrit works.

In Nanjio's Catalogue, ¹² there are four translations ascribed to him, amongst which the *Mahāyānabuddhi-ṣaṭparamitāsūtra* is well-known.

He passed away at Loyang sometime after 792 A.C.

The foregoing passages show some of the more well-known cases of Indian, Central Asian and South-East Asian Buddhist teachers who undertook their journey by the sea route to the South Seas and the Far East, especially China, for the propagation of Buddhism. However, this chiefly deals with those teachers who were connected with translation. A few others like Bodhidharma, who was known as the founder of Zen Buddhism, 43 also went to China by the sea route in 480 A.C. He, first reached the territories of the earlier Sung Dynasty (421-479 A. C.) in southern China, and then proceeded to Loyang and other places in northern China. Similarly, Pan-la-mi-ti (Parāmiti), a teacher from Central India went to China by the same route. He reached Canton sometime before 705 A.C. and stayed at the Chih-chih-ssū Monastery in order to translate the Surangama-sūtra (Nanjio No. 446) into Chinese. Later he returned to India by boat. The cases here cover a period of over 600 years from about 150 A.C. to the end of the 8th century A. C. We notice that the sea route leading to India had been very popular, so much so that more than thirty Chinese and Korean monks undertook their journey44 by this route either to India, Siam or the South Seas. I-tsing tells us that he embarked on a Persion boat from Canton in 671 A. C. He stayed for six months in Palembang for learning Sanskrit or the Sabdavidya, then passed through Malayu (Sumatra), Kedah, Nicobar Islands and finally reached Tamralipti

^{42.} See Appendix II, P. 447.

^{43.} W. Pachow: 'Zen Buddhism and Bodhidharma.' The Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXXII, 1956.

^{44.} See I-tsing: Eminent Buddhist teachers of the Tang Dynasty who sought the Dharma in the Western Regions. Nanjio No. 1491.

in eastern India. On his return journey, he stayed for sometime in Malayu in 689 A. C.

All this shows that upto the middle of the 8th century A. C. the sea communication between India and China was chiefly monoplised by the Persians or other foreign⁴⁵ nationals, and the regions of Malaya, Sumatra and other nearby places were to a large extent influenced by Indian culture through the Indian colonists. Otherwise, I-tsing would not have been able to learn Sanskrit at Palembang.

Regarding Buddhism in Java, it was due to the effort of Guṇavarman who introduced the Hinayānist form of Buddhism into that country in the early part of the 5th century A. C. This School of Buddhism must have existed till the end of the 7th century A. C. The observation and by I-tsing in this regard is very valuable. He was of the opinion that most of the Islands including Java (Ho-lin), Malayu or Śrīvijaya and Borneo etc. in the South Seas followed the Mulasarvāstivādin and Sāmmittīya Schools. There was not much of Mahāyāna Buddhism there except for a small a extent in Malayu (Sumatra).

However, I-tsing did not mention clearly what form of Buddhism existed in Fu-nan (Cambodia) at that time, as there were no monks in that country on account of the persecution carried on by its evil kings. From the fact that Sanghapāla and Mandra went to China from Fu-nan in the beginning of the 6th century A. C. and translated many Mahāyāna texts into Chinese, and later in 546 A. C. when Pramārtha went to China from Fu-nan, he took with him 240 bundles of Mahāyāna works from that

^{45.} It is stated in the Life of Amoghavajra that in 741 A.C. before his departure for Ceylon, Liu-chu-lin, an important minister summoned I-hsi-pin (Ibrahim?), chief of the foreigners residing at Canton to give instruction to the Captain of the boat by which Amoghavajra was travelling that Amoghavajra should be well-looked after. This would indicate that a large number of foreign merchants and shipping agents, chiefly from Persia or Arabia, were in the ports of China. See Sung-kao-seng-chuan, Ch. 1.

^{46.} Cf. J. Takakusu: A record of the Buddhist religion as practised in India and Malaya Archipalego, Ch. 1.

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country, it follows that Fu-nan was a strong centre of Mahāyāna literature. Moreover, in 539 A. C. the envoy from Fu-nan to the court of the Liang Dynasty (502-557 A. C.) told the Emperor that in their country there were hairs of the Buddha measuring twelve feet in length. All this indicates that Buddhism in Fu-nan (Cambodia) in the early part of the 6th century A. C. was chiefly Mahāyānic and the Buddhist texts were in Sanskrit. Till then, the influence of Pali Buddhism had not yet begun.

Thus, the voyage of Buddhist missions to South-East Asian countries and to China gives us valuable evidence of the historical development of Buddhism in those regions. Further, it provides us with specific instances of the cultural relations of these countries between China on the one hand, and India on the other.

^{47.} See Liang-shu, or the Annals of the Liang Dynasty, the chapter on Fu-nan.

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SECTION XV: LOCAL LANGUAGES AND CULTURES OF ORISSA

President: DR. PT. NILAKANTHA DAS

Typical forms of Old Oriya poetry Khageswar Mahapatra

Echo-words and similar alliterative words in Oriya Dr. K. B. Tripathi

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TYPICAL FORMS OF OLD ORIYA POETRY

By

Khageswar Mahapatra, Balangir

In the history of the different literatures of our country we come cross many typical forms and genres of poetry and also find that particular forms are popular among the poets and peoples of a particular land. Forms such as Dohā, Sākhi, Nakhasikha, Rāso, Bāisi-Pachisi, etc. in Hindi; Goālāri, Lāgani, Chaitābara, Malār, etc. in Maithili; Bibhā, Bihugīta, Baramāhi, Bhanitā, etc., in Assamese; Padāvali, Kadachā, Bāul, Mangal, etc. in Bengali are altogether peculiar to those literatures and from the earliest period their poets were accustomed to express their moods and fancies in such genuinely typical forms. The case is exactly the same with Oriya literature. B. C. Majumdar has pointed out in the introduction to his edition of "Typical Selections from Oriya Literature". Vol. I (Calcutta University) that, "It must be admitted to the credit of the literary genius of the country, that some forms altogether peculiar to the Oriya literature are met with from the earliest time onwards". Mr. Majumdar has mentioned only Koili, Chautisā and Poi forms and has tried to describe only the first two. However there are, besides these, three types, numerous forms, some of which are characteristically peculiar to Oriya literature while some others are found also in the literatures of the neighbouring provinces. Before discussing the forms one by one, we may divide them into two broad groups: (A) Forms consisting of short poems of a lyrical nature, and (B) Forms consisting of longer poems like ballads and serious religio-philosophic dissertations.

A. LYRICAL FORMS

1. Chautiśā

Chautisā is the most popular form of Poetry in Oriya literature. The earliest extant poetry was written in this form and even today this form is popular with the modern poets. Hundreds of Chautisās were written though only about a hundred

have been published. The main characteristic of this form is that it is composed in an alphabatical order taking the thirtyfour consonants of the Oriya language in regular sequence as the initial letter of each line. So generally the poem contains thirtyfour stanzas and each line of each stanza begins with the same letter. But instances are there where this rule has been applied in different ways. In one chautis'ā of Kavisamrāt Upendra Bhañja entitled Chitau Chautisa there are only six stanzas and hence there the alphabetical order has been maintained within the total number of lines contained in the poem. In another Chautis'ā written by Sādhucharan entitld Jagabandhu Janāna Chautisā there are only seventeen stanzas, each having two letters in succession. Another general nature of Chautis'ā is that all the verses in a poem are in the same, metre though there are exceptions where several metres have been used in the same Chautis'ā, as for example in the Sapta Rāga Chautisā of Yuba Bhañja, in which seven metres have been used. There is an out of the way piece of the Chautisa type written by Bhīma Bhoi in which the alphabetical order has been maintained in the reverse way; it begins with 'Ksha' and ends with 'Ka.' Hence it is named Ulata Chautisā, or 'Inverse Chautis'ā.' Kavisūrya Baladev Rath's Champū is also a Chautiśā, the thirtyfour poems in it being arranged in alphabetical order. Writing one kāvya with one initial letter has been in vogue till rcently due to the influence of the Chautis'ā style of the early poets.

However, this popular form of writing poetry in alphabetical order is not unknown to other Indian literatures. In many stotras in Sanskrit literature and in the Lalita-vistara of the Buddhist literature this form has been used. In Hindi literature there are poems of such type and are known as Kakaharā, Akharābata and Chautinsā. In Bengali too, we find Chautissā in the body of the Mangala-kāvyas and in Chandi Das's compositions. The Diwan of Parsi, Urdu and Arabic literatures is akin to this form. In the literature of the Susis of the Punjab there is this form known as Si-Harsi or Tirisā since thirty letters are used in regular succession. But this form is far more popular in Oriya literature than in any other Indian literature.

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2. Koili

Koili is a special genre in which the poet addresses the bird cuckoo. Just as in the Bhramara Gītā of the Bhāgavata where the Gopis express their grievances before the bee, in the Koili lyrics the bird cuckoo is taken into confidence as a willful witness and before her everything is disclosed. In the words of Mr. B. C. Majumdar: "The character of a Koili is that it is a monologue and the person whose words the poet versifies, discloses his thoughts to a cuckoo bird by addressing the bird O Koili! This address portion forms the burden of the poem." These Koilis are composed in the Chautis'ā order except for a very few, of which one is the Bāramāsi Koili of Sankar Dās. It may be noted that Bāramāsi Koili poems describing the twelve months of an year are as popular among the Oriya readers as the Baramahis of Assamese literature, Bāramāsyas of Bengali literature, Bāramīsās, Chaumāsās, and Chaumāsās of Maithili literature and Bīrahamāsīs of Hindi literature. In the Oriya Bāramāsi poems the year begins with the month Margas'ira as in the Assamese poems. Some scholars are of opinion that the Koili lyric is the result of the influence of Sanskrit poems such as Meghadūta, Hamsa dūta, Pavanadūta etc, and even as the cloud, the swan or the wind the Koili is sent also as a messenger though in the Koilis of the early period, there is no instance of the bird being sent as a messenger. The bird, which is necessaaily a female, is just a listener and can be compared only with the bee of the Bhramara Gita. Pandit Nilakantha Das thinks that the Koili lyric has evolved from the Des'ī songs, Obī and Loli of which Sārngadeva has made mention in his Sangīta Ratnākara, Ch. IV. It is probable that this Koili form found a place in the Oriya literature due to the influence of the Adivasis or the tribal people whose songs are addressed to a tree, a creeper or a bird.

It is very interesting to note that the Koili genre is very popular nowadays among party politicians, social workers and business men. During the elections, the evils of the other party and the merits of one's own party are disclosed before the Koili; the Agriculture Supervisor, the Health Visitor and the Basic Teacher speak about their aims and methods before the Koili; the business

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man, either a Bīdiwālā or a Chānāchurwālā, reveals the qualities of his bīdi or chānāchur before the Koili, because they all believe that Koili is the favourite of the masses and the masses can be approached only through the cuckoo. Because of this new interest Koili lyrics are in abundance in riya literature today although not more than five or six of e old Koilis have yet come to light.

3. Sodaśā

Sodasās are related to Chautiśās and just as in Chautiśā the thirtyfour consonants are used in alphabetical order, in Sodaśā the sixteen vowels are used. Upendra Bhanja has named it Şodasendu. It is not a very popular form and hence only a few poems are available. These are recently brought to light by Prof. P. Pradhan. Sometimes both the Ṣodaśā and the Choutis'ā forms are combined and another form is created which is known as Pancāśā Varņa Niyama or the 'Fifty Letters Order'.

4. Poi

Poi is a synonym of the Sanskrit word Padī and in fact Vīramitrodaya Singh's Atha Poi and Prataparudra Singh Deba's Chauda Poi bear the alternative titles Asta Padī and Chaturdasa Padī respectively. In a Poi work each idyll is called a Poi and the books are named after the number of Pois they contain. These are books as Chha Poi, Na Poi, Dasa Poi, Pandara Poi Pachisi Poi, etc. The peculiar characteristic of this form is that the number of stanzas in one idyll and the number of letters in each line of the stanzas must agree with the number of pois the book contains. In case it is a Pachisi Poi there must be twentyfive pois or idylls, each idyll must have twentyfive padas or stanzas and each line of the stanzas, as the stanzas are necessarily couplets and not of a complex metre, must have 25 letters. However, except in one or two pois the rule regarding the use of the number of letters in a line has not been observed. But even then it is easy to identify the poi form with the sonnet form of the western literature in which also the use of number of lines in a poem and number of feet in a line is fixed. Another peculiarity of some of the poi forms of poetry is that some extra stanzas composed in a different metre are either prefixed or suffixed to the

It seems that the poi is a typical form of Oriya Poetry. It is very difficult to trace the origin of this form. Some scholars have suggested that this form has been created in imitation of Pañca Ślokī, Śata Ślokī and Aṣṭa Ślokī in Sanskrit. One of the Oriya poems entitled Dasa Poi has been translated into English and published in book form by O. C. Gangoly.

5. Chaupadī

Chaupadī sometimes means quatrains or stanzas with four pādas and sometimes poems with four stanzas or pādas. This form is commonly known as Chaupāyā or Chaupāi in the other Indian literatures. A good number of Chaupadi poems have been written in Oriya of which the Sola Chaupadi of Jagannāth Das, Chaupadi Bhūṣaṇa of Upendra Bhañja and Chaupadi of Sālabega are famous.

6. Gāhā and Dohā

Not a single $G\bar{a}h\bar{n}$ has been traced in Oriya literature till now. However, poets like Upendra Bhañja have mentioned it while giving lists of compositions in the prologues to their works. It may be presumed from this that the Gāhā form was current in Orissa.

Upendra Bhañja has also stated that he has composed some $Doh\bar{a}s$ but these also are yet to be discovered. From a very remote peried, Dohā form was known to Oriya poets and in the $Boudha~G\bar{a}n~O~Doh\bar{a}$, dohās of Kānhupā, an Oriya Siddhāchārya, are found. Dohā is sometimes called $Duh\bar{a}$ or $Dhu\bar{a}$. The doggerel verses which are frequently sung by women and village folk go under this name.

7. Boli

In old Oriya literature we find some poems entiled *Boli* and there are pieces of composition like *Chāta Boli*, *Bāla Boli* by Balarām Dās, *Alankār Boli* and *Krishna Dās Boli* by Dīnakṛṣṇa and the famous *Bazār Boli* of Upendra Bhañja. The word *Boli* means 'sayings in song.' There are no technical or formal specialities in such type of poems.

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8. Ogāla

Ogāla means 'barring progress', 'restraint.' In the Ogāla form of poetry there are difficult questions and quizzes and their answers. These songs and dialogues are popular among the cowherds. The only Ogāla that has been traced till now was written by Achyutānanda Dās who belonged to the cowherd caste.

9. Stuti, Stotra, Bhajana and Janana

Stuti, Stotra, Bhajana, and Jonana-all these four types are religious poems and in a broad sense are prayers to God. Stuti and Stotra are synonymous and mean 'eulogy or hymn.' Bhajana means 'reciting the names of a deity repeatedly.' These are musical and during festivals or pujas these are sung in a chorus led by one singer, accompanied by an instrument called Khañjani with cymbals and Khol. In the rural areas the only music enjoyed and appreciated by the mass is the Bhajana. Alekha Bhajanas and the Bhajanas of Pancasakhās are most popular. Janāna means 'to let one know, or to make one acquainted with one's conditions.' It is a kind of vijnapti and is also likewise threefold as disclosing misery, expressing desires and praying for their fulfilment. Jananas are also sung but they are more effective in single performance than in chorus for they are extremely personal in nature and the main sentiment in them is of sorrow and sufferings. In the Sarpa Janana of Kavisūrya Baladev, the poet has equated Lord Jagannath of Puri to a snake. The most interesting and funny element in that Janana is the reproachful with which the Lord has been approached by a most sincere

B. BALLADS, NARRATIVES ETC.

As I have already stated most of these poems are serious philosophical and religious dissertations. These are written in the form of discussions between the Guru and the Sişya, Kṛṣṇa and Nārada, Siva and Pārvatī or between some Rsis. The famous Pañchasakhā and their followers have expounded their views and codes in such poems.

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1. Gītā

Gītās are books embodying philosophical dialogues and discussions between a preceptor and his student. These are written in imitation of the Bhagavad Gitā and like Srī Kṛṣṇa the Guru tries to convince the disciple about the merits of his creed and faith. The author is identified with the Guru and he propagates his own religious faith through the Guru. Achyutananda states that he has written seventy-eight Gītās. There are a large number of Gītās in Oriya literature of which some need mention here. The Vedānta-sāra-gupta Gītā of Balarāma Dās in which he has explained Vedanta through an illiterate and dumb idiot in the Mukti Mandapa of the Jagannath temple, the Guru-bhakti Gītā of Achyutananda in which the author has vividly painted the character of a true Vaishnava and has stated the guiding rules of building up a true religious career, the Jagannathamrta Gītā of Dibakar Das which is a biography of Jagannath Das, the famous writer of the Oriya Bhāgavata, the Parache Gītā of Duārikā Dās which makes an exposition of the Pinda-Bramhanda-Vada and a few others, such as the Nāmaratna Gītā of Dīnakṛṣṇa and Baichandra Gītā of Devānarda Dās, are the most famous.

2. Samhitā

Samhitā means 'compliation'. Although there are Samhitās in other languages thry are translations of the Sanskrit works of Manu, Garga, Parāśara etc. The Samhitās in Oriya literature are original compositions and in them their authors have compiled various views about a still more original religions of thers known as Orissan Vaiṣṇavism. Achyutānanda alone wrote thirtysix Samhitās of which the Sūnya Samhitā, the Sabda-Brahma Samhitā and the Anākāra Samhitā are highly appreciated by the Oriya Vaiṣṇavas. The most interesting portions of the Sūnya-Samhitā are those which reveal the relation of Pañca-Sakhā with Śrī Caityana; it is highly important for the students of Gaudīya Vaiṣṇavism for Caitanya spent more than twenty years of his last days in Orissa and we do not get as true a picture of his life from the biographies of Chaitanya written in Bengali as we get in the Orissan Sūnya Samhitā

3. Samvāda

Samvāda means 'information,' or 'report.' It is a form of religious poetry in which two or more persons report or inform

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amongst themselves about some mysterious matter. Some of these Samvādas in Oriya are the Dikṣyā Samvāda of Jagannātha Dās, Garuḍa-Govinda Samvāda and Garuḍa-Ananta Samvāda of Ananta Dās. In Hindi literature we find Datta-Gorakha Samvāda, Dāna-Lobha Samvāda, Śuka-Rambhā Samvāda etc., and it seems that the nature of Samvāda in both the literatures is the same.

4. Māhātmya:

Māhātmya means 'greatness,' or 'majesty.' There are books written on the Māhātmya of sacred months like Māgha, Vois'ākha, Kārtika etc., on places like Purusottama, Prācī, Ksetra etc, and on days like Ekādas'ī. Besides these traditional Mahātmyas there is a book entitled Nirguṇa Māhātmya in which Caitanya Dās has expressed his views in favour of nirguṇa-bramhopāsanā, kāyāsādhanā and jnāna-Yoga.

5. Mālikā:

Mālikās are poems containing predictions and prophesies about the future. As the Pañca Sakhās and their followers were Hatha Yogins, by virtue of their Tantric culture they acquired occult power and were able to perceive the past and foresee the future. Although their predictions have proved false to a great extent, still the general masses believe in them. The only positive gain of these writings is that the Mālikās do not lull the mass into false security but rather warn them of possible dangers, so that one tries to live a controlled moral life so as to ensure a happy future. Achyutānanda is said to have written a hundred Mālikās. Other works of this class are the Āgata Bhavisya of Yośavanta, Āgata-Cumbaka of Ananta and Hara Dās's Mālikā.

6. Tikā:

Tikā means 'annotation' or 'commentary.' There is a book called Tikā Govindacandra which is purely a ballad and the story is just the same as that of the Mayanābatira Gān or the story of Rajā Govindacandra adapted from that Bengali poem. Another book is called Tīkā Mahābhārata contains the story of the Mahābhārata in nut-shell. Here the word Tīkā may be a synonym of the Oriya word 'Tīki' which means small, or it is a tīkā in the true sense of the word as here the author has put the

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story of the Mahābhārata in a simple and an elegant way. But books like Saptānga Yoga Sāra Tīkā, Gaņesavibhūti Tīkā, etc. are mere commentaries.

7. Patala

Patala means 'part' or 'division.' The pecularity of this type of poems is that the work is named according to the number of Patalas it contains. In Oriya there are 46 Patalas, 24 Patalas, 10 Patalas, etc. The subject matter of these books is same as that of the Gītā, Samhitā, etc.

8. Nirnaya

Nirnaya means 'deduction', 'inference' or 'deceison'. In a Nirnaya the author comes to a logical conclusion or an apt decision after taking into consideration the pros and cons of a difficult matter. Some scholars suggest that the 'Dambara' type in Sanskrit is akin to Nirnayas. This may be true as there is a book in Oriya entitled Siddhānta Dambara by Balarāma Dās. The only Nirnaya available now is the Sthāna Nirnaya of Jagannātha Das.

9. Kavaca

The word Kavaca means 'talisman', 'amulet' or 'armour'. In literature a Kavaca means a hymn which is recited by the devotes to get protection from God against his misfortunes. There are only two Kavacas available now in Oriya, the Abhaya Kavaca by Achyutānanda and the Rādhā Kavaca by Dīnakṛṣṇa.

9. Poems with Numerical Names

In Hindi literature we find a good number poems having titles like Alma Darsana Pachīsi, Gopi Pachīsi, Khatmal Baisi, Basanta Cauntisi, etc. In Sanskrit also we find many books having numerical names such Aṣṭaka, Pañcāsikā, Śataka Saptasatī etc. In Oriya too there is a work which bears the title as "Cori Cabisi". Its author is Jagannātha Dās; it contains 24 Adhyāyas "stolen" from the Bhāgavata for their importance. No other work of this type has come to light till now.

It may be noted here that indigenous Oriya poetry has reached a high magnitude of perfection and we have a Kavi-Samrat in In the pre-Bhañja period a number of Kāvyas Upendra Bhañja. were written with themes borrowed from mythology or from pure imagination. These Kavyas are suffixed with surnames like Vilāsa, Vinoda, Vibhā, Vadha, Vīhāra, Kallola, Sāgara, etc. and we have works like Rādhāvinoda, Rukminīvinoda, Vaidehīsavilāsa and Rāsakallola. Many Kavyas are titled after the name of the heroine of the book. These Kavyas are subdivided into several Chandas and each Chānda is written in a seperate Chanda or metre. The entire first Chānda or a portion of it is devoted on mangālācarana and the lest part of the last Chanda reveals the personal details about the poet. his family and birthplace, his philosophical and religious views, merits of his works etc. There are some Campūs but we do not find any prose work. In the famous Campū of Kavisurya Sanskrit prose and poetry are given side by side with Oriya poetry. It is to be admitted that as the Oriya architects built up a Konarka of stone so also the Oriya poets built-up another Konarka of Kāvas. The modern Oriya literature is no doubt poor when compared to some other Indian literatures of today, but one can surely hold his head oigh, when he thinks of its glorius past.

ECHO-WORDS AND SIMILAR ALLITERATIVE WORDS IN ORIYA

By

Dr. K. B. Tripathi, Cuttack

Echo-words may be defined as those words which, apart from the principal words to which they hang on, have no independent use and meaning in a language. The echo-word is a partial repetition of the principal or original word and when attached to it, impart a sense of comprehensiveness. The use of echo-words is a feature of colloquial speech. The following examples may be cited from the Oriya language:

āsana-phāsana	seat and th	e like	
ușună-phușună	parboiled r	ice and	the like
kātha-phāta *	wood	,,	,,
gacha-phaca *	tree	2,	,,
cāuļa-phāuļa	rice	,,	,,
dhāna-phāna	paddy	,,	,,
bāgha-phāga *	tiger	,,	,,
bhāu-phāu	price	,,	,,
bhāta-phāta	boiled rice	,,	,,
bhika-phika	alms	,,	,,
mācha-phāca *	fish	,,	"

In these expressions the second constituents such as phāsana, -phuṣunā, etc. have, by themselves, no seperate existence and meaning in Oriya language. In particular contexts, they echo the sound and the sense of the preceding words. Hence they are called echo-words.

In Oriya the principal word is designated kathā, i.e. speech proper, while its attachment, unmeaningful by itself, is called lathā, which also means patch-work and is traceable to Sanskrit latā, meaning branch, off-shoot or creeper.

It will be observed in the above-mentioned examples that if the original word begins with a vowel, then that vowel is suffixed

to the consonant 'ph' in the echo-word; if it begins with a consonant, then the latter is substituted by 'ph'. In the echowords marked with an asterisk, the aspirated letters, coming after those of the preceding syllables, have lost their aspiration for the sake of easy pronunciation.

Echo-words are likewise formed in respect of Perso-Arabic, English and other European loan-words in Oriya:

āin-phāin law and the like
ālmāri-phālmāri almirah ,,
iñjeksan-phinjeksan injection ,,
ceār-pheār chair ,,
țebal-phebal table ,,
salām-phalām salutation,,
șțesan-phesan station ,,

In these examples, the first and the sixth are of Perso-Arabic origin, the second is of Portuguese origin and the rest are of English origin.

If the original word begins with 'ph' with any vowel immediately following it, then its echo-form begins with 'ph \bar{a} ' the remaining part being unaltered. E.g.:

Pharak-phārak difference etc.
phikar-phākar cleverness etc.
phiṭ-phāṭ very fit etc.
phesan-phāsan fashion etc.

Though echo-words with 'ph' as initial are used as a general rule, still there are a number of echo-forms with other consonants as initials. These are also repetitions of the original words except in respect of their initial syllables. It may be that some of them had seperate existence and meaning in times gone by but have now lost them. Examples are given below in order of their initials:

k bāsma-kūsana utensils and the like baṇṭā-kuṇṭā distribution ,, locā-kocā shrunken

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c	andirā-candirā	masculine	,,
	māpa-cupa	measurement	,,
jh	aļi-jhaļi	entreat	,,
3-	kanta-jhanta	thorn	,,
	pilā-jhilā	child	,,
ţ	bankā-ṭankā*	zigzag	,,
d	kāma-dāma*	work	"
	khandiā-dandiā*	torn or injured	,,
p	gādhuā-pādhuā	bathing	,,
P	hāuļi-pāuļi	terror-striken	,,
	goței-poței	gathering	,,
b	cākara-bākara	servant	,,
	loka-bāka	people	"
1	kaceri-bāceri	court	,,
	saja-bāja	preparation	,,
	bodha-bādha	consolation	**
	kharcā-barcā	expenditure	"
	casa-basa *	cultivation	,,
	khusi-bāsi	happiness	,,
bh	cașā-bhuṣā	cultivator	,,
m	kaste-maste	with difficulty	,,
	kānduņu-mānduņu	lamenting	,,
5'	budhi-sudhi *	intelligence	"
S	gapa-sapa	story	,,
	bujhā-sujhā	consideration	,,
	moțā-soțā	fat and the like	e, very fat
h	dara-hara	fear	,,
	dāka-hāka	calling	,,

In these instances, the echo-forms marked with an asterisk have a meaning but that meaning appears quite different from that of the principal words. For example 'tanka', 'dama', 'dandia', 'bāsa', 's'udhi', 'sujhā' respectively mean in Oriya rupee, price, one who holds the scales, residence, purity, and paying off. In the rest, the echo-forms are meaningless. Some of the echo-forms listed above have parallelisms in other Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages (see below).

It is interesting to note that though as a general rule the echo-forms are suffixed to the original words, there are a few instances where they appear as prefixed to them. E.g.:

adaļa-badaļa exchange, etc.
ākha-pākha vicinity etc.
ābadā-khābadā rough and the like, very rough
abā-kābā wonder-struck

ās'a-pāśa neighbourhood, etc.

In these instances only the second elements have independent use and meaning in Oriya language. Some of the first members might be old words, now obsolete. For example Sanskrit 'akṣa' and 'āsya' might have given rise to 'ākha' and 'āsa' (written 'ās'a') respectively.

There are many instances in Oriya where the echo-words are just repetition of the original words with a change or changes in respect of vowels only. E.g.

- (a) nouns or adjectives used as nouns:

gariba-gurabā poor people and the like jantu-juntā beasts and the like hākima-hukumā men in authority and the like cp. pilā-pili children and the like

(b) verbal nouns:

jāki-juki huddling up bodha-bādha consoling etc.

(c) adjectives, adverbs or nouns (in case of adj. the word indicates intensity)

cup-cāp very silent
tuni-tāni do
gol-gāl round
thik-thāk all right
jhat-jhāt very quickly
dhang-dhāg manners
bhul-bhāl mistakes

In the western Oriya dialect the formation of the echo-words follows the pattern which is noticeable in (a) above. E.g.:

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pān-punā betel-leaf, etc.
bhāt-bhutā rice and the like
śāg-s'ugā salad and similar things

There are certain alliterative quasi-compound words in Oriya where one element or number has no separate use and might have been an absolute word. E.g.

gacha-brucha trees gāļi-gulaj censure villages gā-gandā untouchability chuā-chuti taka-tokara rupees tokā-tākara youths children (cp. also pua-pāti) pilā-kabila pilā-picikā pani-paribā vegetables marriage bāhā-codā bhoga-batā list māl-matā things māli-makadamā law-suits festivals jāni-yātrā hāri-guhāri complaints

The word 'patra' when suffixed to many a word in Oriya such as khātā, jinasa, bahi, bichanā, hisāba, imparts the sense of 'et cetera'. Cp also lugā-paṭā (clothes) corresponding to Western Oriya Kapdā-latā.

There are a number of compound words in Oriya where one member is rarely used separately with that particular meaning. In these compounds both the members have analogous meanings. E.g.

bandhā-chandā mortgaging
bācha-bichāra consideration
bhoga-rāga offerings (to å deity)
roga-bairāga ailment

Echo-words are found in other Neo-Indo-Aryan languages also. E.g. Assamese, Bengali, Maithili, Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati and Sinhalese.

In Assamese, the usual initial consonant in echo-words is 's' and in special contexts 't'.

In Bengali, the characterestic initial of the echo-words is 't'. E.g.

goru-toru	cattle, and	the like
chātā-tātā	umbrella	"
māch-tāch	Fish	,,
tarkāri-tarkāri	curry	"

As in Oriya, 'ph' as initial characterises a number of echoforms. But in this case a sense of disapproval also appears to be implied E.g.

māch-phāch, tarkāri-pharkāri

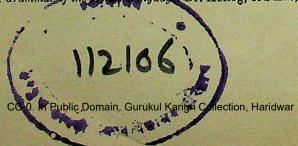
In Hindi, the characteristic initials of the echo-words are the vowels 'u', 'o', and the semi-vowel 'v'. E.g.

Pustak-ustak	books and	the like
ghodā-odā	horse	,,
roți-oți	bread	,,
sonā-onā	sleep	,,
jānā-vānā	going	,,
dekhnā-vekhnā	seeing	,,
bhasan-vasan	speech	,,

Other initials, like 'dh' and 's' are also sometimes found in echo-words in Hindi; e.g.,

kām-dhām	work etc.	
cāy-sāy	tea etc.	
rona-dhona	weeping etc.	

- 1. Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, Dr. S. K. Chatterji, 1926, page 17%.
- 2. Indian Linguistics, Vol. XVII. 1957, page 161.
- 3. A Grammar of the Hindi Language Dr. Kellog, 3rd Ed., page 366.



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In Marathi, the characteristic initial of echo-words is 'b'. E.g.

kutā-bitā

dog etc.

ghadyāk-bidyāk

clock (watch) etc.

ghodā-bidā

horse etc.

tomd-bind-bind

mouth etc.

pani-bīni pustak-bistak mānjar-binjār

book etc.

loțā-bițā

water-pot etc.

hāt-bīt

hand etc.

Echo-words are found in the Dravidian languages Telugu, Kannada, Tamil and Malayalam.

The characterisic initial of echo-words in Telugu and Kannada is 'gi' and that in Tamil and Malayalam is 'ki'. E.g.

Telugu:

illu-gillu

house etc.

pustaka-gistaka

book etc.

Tamil:

arici-kirici

rice etc.

kācu-kīcu

small money.

Malayalam:

ānayum-kīnayum

elephant and the like

panavum-kinavum

money and the like

In Telugu we have a number of compound words where the second member resembles an echo-word in that it has no seperate use.

^{4.} A Grammar of the Kannada Language, Dr. Kittel, Mangalore, 1903, pages 304-305.

^{5.} A Progressive Grammar of Common Tamil, Arden, 5th Ed., Madras, 1942, page 301.

^{6.} e.g. āku-ālāmā (leaves and the like), catu-cenā (trees and the like) pilā-jelā (children and the like), purugu-putrā (worm, etc.), bhumi-puṭrā (land, etc.). In Kannada, some echo-forms are prefixed to original words.



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